THE LIFE AND REIGN OF INNOCENT XI. LATE Pope of ROME.

Licenſed and Entred according to Order.

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BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

TO THE

READER.

THE length of the Reign of the late Pope Innocent XI. *in respect of the greater Number of his Predecessors, and the various Transactions that have happened in Christendom in his time, and his more than ordinary concern therein, besides what passed more privately in the* Conclave; *calls for a publick and particular Account to be given thereof. This I have here endeavored to perform, and can safely assure the Reader, that my Collections are taken out of very good and Authentick Writings, having purposely rejected such, whose Favour or Malice might seem to byas their Pens to vain and fabulous Relations.*

I shall detain thee no longer from reading that which I hope will be more acceptable than

a long and tedious Preface, only wiſhing it may fully anſwer thy Expectations, and the Faithful Endeavours of

Thy Servant

T. L.

THE

THE LIFE Of the Late Pope Innocent XI.

INNOCENT the XI. (whoſe name was *Benedictus Odeſcalchi*) was born at *Como*, a City in the Dukedom of *Milan* in *Italy*, *Anno* 1611. his Father was called *Livio*, and his Mother *Paula Caſtella*, both of Noble and Patrician Families in that City, of Thirty thouſand Crowns yearly Revenue, belonging to the Houſe of *Odeſcalchi*. He had his Education among the *Jeſuites* for Grammar and Humane Learning, and after ſtudied the Civil and Canon Laws at *Rome* and *Naples*; and tho he was never eſteemed for a Polemical Divine, yet he had the reputation of one that knew the World, and underſtood the nature of Mankind, and the art of Government well; being withal a Man of great ſincerity and honeſty, very innocent in his Life and Converſation, and diſcovering no inclination to ſide with any Party or Faction whatſoever; becauſe he eſteemed it better to be a general friend to all, than a particular one to ſome, while he muſt ſtand expos'd to the hatred and envy of others. Theſe qualifications prepar'd the way to his ſeveral Advancements, and at length rais'd him to the higheſt dignity in the Romiſh Church. It is true, it hath been reported of him, that he was extreamly ignorant in all the parts of Learning, and that he ſcarcely underſtood Latin, inſomuch that Cardinal *Albici*, who oppos'd his Election, ſhould ſay, in the *Conclave*, to thoſe that were for promoting him, *For the love of God, let us at leaſt have a Pope that is ſo Learned, that he may be able to read the Goſpel in the Maſs.* But the ſame

Cardinal expreſſed no greater eſteem for his Judgment, for when ſome others in his commendation ſaid, That *he digeſted things well*, he ſcurrilouſly repli'd, That *nothing could be expected from his digeſtion but a* ——— Altho the contrary hath very much appear'd, as will be found in the ſequel of this Diſcourſe.

In the time of *Urban* the VIII. he was made one of the *Prothonataries* of the Apoſtolick Chamber, and ſuddenly after *Preſident* of the ſame: he was alſo made chief *Commiſſary* for gathering the Taxes and Duties ariſing in the Province of *Marchio*, which were laid on the People at the time of the Wars in *Italy*. When this buſineſs was over, he was conſtituted Governor of *Macerata*, and the Province thereunto adjoyning. By *Innocent* the X. he was made one of the *Clarks* of his Chamber, and in the Year 1645. by him alſo made *Cardinal*; which dignity is conferred by the *Pope* only by delivery of a Paper (wherein the Names of ſuch as are to be promoted are written) into the Conſiſtory of *Cardinals*, with theſe words *Habetis fratres*.

The Romaniſts ſay, That St. *Peter* conſtituted a College of twenty four *Presbyters*, with Authority to decide and determine matters of difficulty ariſing in the Church; theſe in the time of Pope *Sylveſter* the I. were called *Cardinals* or Princes in the Church. *Innocent* the IV. at the Council of *Lions* beſtowed upon them the red Hat, as a mark or badge of their Dignity; anciently theſe were a check upon the *Pope*, and a ſort of a Council without whom he could do nothing in *Temporals*; yet now they have quite loſt that, and they have no other ſhare in affairs than that to which the *Pope* thinks fit to admit them. It is true as to *Spirituals* they retain ſtill a large ſhare, ſo that in Cenſures and Definitions the *Pope* can do nothing regularly without their concurrence; tho ſome think they have not ſo good a Title to that as to ſhare in the Temporal *Principality*. For if the *Pope* derives any thing from St. *Peter*, all that is ſingly in himſelf, and how elſe, alſo, can the Infallibility (ſo much pretended to) reſt in him? yet becauſe there was not ſo much to be gotten by acting arbitrarily in thoſe matters, and a ſummary way of exerciſing this Authority, might have tempted the World to have enquired too much into the grounds on which it is built: Therefore the *Popes* have let the *Cardinals* retain ſtill a ſhare in this ſupremacy over the Church, tho they have no claim to it either by Divine or Eccleſiaſtical Warrant, further, at leaſt, than within the City and Dioceſs of *Rome* where they were Presbyters, if that be true of Saint *Peters* conſtituting ſuch a College of them to aſſiſt him in the Government of that Church. But as for the endowments of the See of *Rome*, to which they may juſtly lay claim, as being in a manner the Chapter of that See; there is ſo much to be got by this, that the *Popes* have engroſſed it wholly to themſelves and to gratifie and advance their Creatures by. However the *Cardinals* are great *Princes*, make a conſiderable Figure in *Rome*, and reſpect is paid them accordingly; and that People might do it, as they paſſed in the *City*, a Bell uſed to be rung before them, that all might know them; but this

this hath been left off, their Purple and Equipage sufficiently notifying them.

There are three different Classes of *Cardinals*, *viz.* six entituled *Cardinal* Bishops, fifty *Priests*, and fourteen *Deacon-Cardinals*.

In the Year 1631. That the Grandeur of the Apostolical Chair might be advanc'd Pope *Urban* VIII. bestowed the title of Eminence upon them, and it was entred into the Records of the Congregation of Ceremonies, That they should be styl'd *Most Eminent and most Reverend*.

But to return to our *Cardinal*; He had presently the *Deaconry* of the Saints *Cosma* and *Damianus* bestowed upon him; and taking *Priests* Orders, he had the title conferr'd upon him of St. *Onuphrius*, and by *Innocent* X. sent *Legate* to *Ferrara*, wherein he acquitted himself with honour, and was made *Bishop* of *Noverase*, where he resided for some years, but afterwards removed through dislike of the Air. And being at *Rome* he was employ'd in many affairs of the Church, and appointed to serve in divers Congregations of *Cardinals*, and made *Protector* of several *Colleges* and *Monasteries*; in all he behaved himself with singular prudence, modesty and vertue, which with the Endowments before mention'd were good Ingredients to capacitate him for the *Papal Chair*, to which (as we shall shew) he was Elected the 21*st* of *September* 1676. and was Crowned with the usual Ceremonies on the 4*th* of *October* following.

But before we come to shew his *Election*, it will not be impertinent to set forth the manner of Electing *Popes*, being a thing in it self not only worth the Reading, but also relating so nearly to this History that it might seem imperfect without it.

Popes were anciently chosen by the *Nobility*, *Clergy* and *People* of *Rome*, tho the Book of Sacred Ceremonies used in the Church of *Rome* tells us, *That Saint* Peter *named* Clemens *to be his Successor, if it seem'd good to the* Senators, *that is, the* Presbyters, *who were twenty four, appointed by Saint* Peter *before his death, to determine matters of difficulty in the Church, and that they chose* Linus, *whereby it might appear that* Popes *had not right to Elect their Successors; that afterward, Schisms and Dissentions arising among the Senators, the Clergy and People of* Rome *were present at the Elections, but had no voice; and that after this the force and violence of the* People *was such, that they would have a Voice, and joyned in their Votes. This popular way of Election, caused such heats and disturbances, that the* Emperors *were constrained, for keeping the Peace, to interpose by their Authority, and order'd that no Election should stand good, until it was confirmed by the* Imperial *approbation.* Charles *the great assumed the Power of Electing, or, which is all one, of confirming of Popes.*

The truth is, as the Power was, sometimes the *Emperors* made *Popes*, and sometimes the *Popes* made *Emperors*.

Some Emperors, *after* Charles's *time, transferred the Election wholly to the Roman* Presbyters, Clergy *and the* People; which the *Romans* would have to be done out of Piety, because the *Pope* was to be a Shepherd to the *Emperor*.

This popular manner of Election produced Parties, Schiſms and Contentions, which often ended with blood, ſo that there was ſcarce a regular Election for ſome years; the ſtrongeſt poſſeſſing the Chair till he was undermin'd by another, ſo that there were often two or three Popes at one time, *and a great many in a few years, until* Nicholas II. *Anno* 1051. *to prevent the Confuſion which happened at every* Popes *death, did eſtabliſh a Law, that the Elections ſhould wholly reſt in the* Cardinals, *which Law or Canon was ſince confirm'd by* Popes *and* Councils. *And as a rule to be obſerved herein,* Alexander III. *inſtituted at a general* Council, *that he only ſhould be eſteemed to be Canonically Elected, who was choſen by at leaſt two thirds of the* College *of* Cardinals.

This Power of Election hath ever ſince reſted in the *Cardinals*, who appoint *Octaves* for ſolemnizing the Funeral of the deceaſed *Pope*, and have on the ninth or tenth day after entred the *Conclave* to proceed to a new Election.

The *Conclave* is held in the *Vatican* Palace, where, in a long Gallery, are erected ſmall Apartments or Cells, made of Boards covered with Purple Cloth, for every *Cardinal*, whereby they may have convenient conference one with another. It has been endeavour'd in a hot ſeaſon (becauſe the *Vatican* is ill air) to Elect in another place, but none was found convenient. Each *Cardinal* hath two Servants, and no more, to attend him, which are called his *Conclaviſti*, unleſs in caſe of ſickneſs or infirmity, and then three may be admitted.

The *Cardinals* being entred, the *Conclave* is ſtrictly guarded by the City *Militia*, to hinder all commerce or intercourſe by Letters from without. The *Gallery* is alſo very cloſely watched, being kept by a *Maſter* of the *Ceremonies*, who inſpects their Meat, leſt any Letters be conveyed with it. According to this firſt Inſtitution, for the firſt three days the *Cardinals* have free uſe of divers diſhes of Meat; whilſt they are eating or doing any thing elſe in their Cells, the outward Curtains are to be open, and undrawn, unleſs in the Night when they ſleep, or at other time repoſe themſelves, and then great care is taken that no noiſe or diſturbance be given.

It hath been cuſtomary of late years for the *Cardinals* to premiſe certain particular Points, or Articles, neceſſary for the Government of the Church, which are ſubſcribed by the whole *Community*, and every one takes an Oath to obſerve them, in caſe he ſhould prove to be the perſon choſen, and promoted to the Pontifical Dignity. After which matters are performed they proceed to an Election.

There have been three ways uſed in the Election. 1. By Scrutiny. 2. By Acceſs. 3. By Adoration. The Scrutiny is, When every Perſon writes in a Schroll of Paper, the Name of that Perſon whom he gives his Voice for, folding it into five ſeveral Pages or Colums; on the firſt of which he writes theſe words, *Ego eligo in ſummum Pontificem Reverendiſſimum Dominum meum Cardinalem* —— which is written by the hand of the *Conclaviſt*, that the Cardinal may not be diſcovered by his own writing. On this Fold two others are doubled down, and ſome Wax dropped thereon, and ſealed with ſome private Seal, made for that purpoſe. On the Fourth, the *Cardinal*

dinal writes his own Name, and covers the ſame with the Fifth Folding. Then all the *Cardinals* ſitting in their order on Benches in the Chappel, with the Schrolls they have prepared in their Hands, take their turns to aſcend to the Altar, before which a Table is placed, covered with a Purple Cloth, and a Chalice with a *Patina*, or Plate ſet thereon; on the right ſide of which ſits the firſt *Cardinal Biſhop*; and on the left, the firſt *Cardinal Deacon*; then every one kneeling makes a ſhort Prayer, and ariſing, puts his Schroll into the *Chalice*; which being done, and all the *Cardinals* returned to their Places; the firſt *Cardinal Biſhop* takes the *Chalice* with his Right Hand, and turns out all the Schrolls upon the *Patina*, or Plate, which he holds in his Left Hand; then ſetting the *Chalice* again on the *Altar*, he takes the Schroll which comes firſt to hand, and gives it to the *Deacon Cardinal*, who reads it with an audible Voice, the *Cardinals* noting with their Pen and Ink, or Table-Book, how many Voices every Perſon hath; and the Papers being read, the Maſter of the *Ceremonies* comes in with a Pan of Coals, and burns all the Papers or Schrolls, ſo that no Man is known for whom he gave his Vote. In caſe any Perſon hath gained two thirds of the number there preſent, then the Election is good, and he is preſently declared *Pope*; and this way is moſt commonly practis'd in the choice of *Popes*. When by reaſon no one hath two thirds, the Election is not determined, its then tryed by *Acceſs* in this manner: All the *Cardinals* ſitting in their Places, one ariſes and goes to the *Cardinal* he would have elected, and ſaith, *Ego accedo ad reverendiſſimum Dominum meum*—— and ſo all the reſt, the which is noted by the *Cardinals*, both the Names of thoſe that made the Acceſs, and the Perſons to whom. If two thirds agree in their Acceſs to one Perſon, then the Election is determined; if not, then the next day they proceed again to Scrutiny, for it cannot be made twice in one day.

The third way, by *Adoration*, is almoſt like that of Acceſs: The *Cardinal* approaching him whom he deſires to have created *Pope* with a profound Reverence and low Obeiſance: But both the Acceſs and Adoration are to be proved, if they hit, and confirmed by the Scrutiny, wherein they often differ from what they did by the former, and ſo make it Null.

There was anciently another way of Election, which was called *Compromiſe*; and it was when the Diviſions were high, and ſcarce determinable by the Conclave, that then the *Cardinals* with common conſent refer'd all their Votes to the choice of three or five *Cardinals*, giving them Power to elect any Perſon, whom all or the Major part ſhould chuſe, obliging themſelves to reſt ſatisfyed with the Choice made by them, provided, That their Election were concluded while a Candle did laſt burning; and if Election were made in that time, the Perſon ſo choſen was acknowledged *Pope* by all the reſt; but in the choice of Commiſſioners, every Cardinal muſt agree.

There is another way of Election, called *by Inſpiration*, that is, When the Cardinals are aſſembled in the Chapter, and every one hath taken his Place according to his Degree and Order: Then the firſt Biſhop Ariſes, and in a ſhort Speech exhorts the Fathers to prov.de ſuch a Perſon for Govern-

Government of the Church, as by his Wisdom and Sanctity may be capable to sustain so great a burden. Then he demands of them the manner by which they intend to proceed, whether by Compromise or Scrutiny; telling them, if his Opinion or Vote might prevail, he would choose no other than ——— and accordingly did elect him for *Supream Bishop*, and *Head* of the *Universal Church*. If all then present, without one opposing, did agree, this was looked on as by Inspiration, and he was then without further Trouble or Scrutiny canonically Elected, which was anciently frequently practised.

The *Pope* being legally chosen by any of the foregoing Methods, he is conducted into the *Sacristia*, or Vestry; where, being disrob'd by the *Cardinal Deacons* of his own Habit, he is cloathed in his *Pontificalibus*, or Papal Vestments; and being thence brought forth, with his Mitre on his Head, adorned with Gold and Jewels into the Chappel, is Seated on the *Altar*; where the Cardinals perform the Ceremony of Adoration to him, every one in his Order, kissing his Feet, Hands and Mouth.

While these Ceremonies are performing, all the Doors and Gates of the *Conclave* are opened; at which a multitude of People appearing, the Pope shews himself, and blesseth them. And then the first *Cardinal Deacon* proclaims with a loud voice these words to the People, *Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum, Papam habemus: Reverendissimus Dominus Cardinalis* ——— *Electus est in Summum Pontificem, & elegit sibi nomen* ——— This being said, the *Pope* descends into St. *Peter's* Church, the *Cardinals* leading the way with a Cross born before them; and going directly to the High Altar, he takes off his *Mitre*, kneels and prays a while, and then returns Thanks to God, and the Blessed Apostles; and rising, seats himself on the *Altar*; and the first Bishop kneels and sings *Te Deum*. And then again the *Cardinals* perform the Act of Adoration as before, which, with the short Office for that Solemnity being finished, the *Pope* again blesseth the People; and in the same Order they return to his Apartment, where he takes his Repose, and the Cardinals go to their respective Lodgings.

The Pope ever since *Sergius*'s time (who was the first that did it) *Anno* 843. change their Baptismal Name for such other as liketh them best. This *Sergius*'s Name was *Bocca di Porco*, or *Hog-snout*, which for shame he changed; and so it hath continued ever since, unless some few that would not do it. Others give a more favourable Account, *viz.* That his Name was *Peter*, and out of his profound respect to that great Apostle, he would not bear his Name in the Chair.

Generally there are great Intriegues and Divisions about the Elections of *Popes*, partly occasioned by the endeavours that Great Princes use to have one of their Friends or Favourites set up; and partly through the aspiring of the Cardinals unto the Chair, where they are not only great themselves, but seldom fail (though their Reign be short) to raise their Families exceedingly; so that many of the great Houses in *Italy* are beholden for their Fortunes to the Favour and Bounty of the Bishops of *Rome*, who did originally advance them to such Places of Trust and Employments,

ployments, whereby they gained that State and Dignity they, or their Posterities now enjoy; and considering how short a time they may have to make their Fortunes, which generally depends on the uncertainty of an Old Man's Life, the People are heavily oppressed, all Preferments bestowed upon them that will give most, and the Welfare of the Commonweal lightly regarded; so that the People are become extreamly miserable that live in the *Pope*'s Dominions.

It is time now to return to the principal Subject of this short History.

Clement X. having breathed his last, *Altieri* the *Cardinal Chamberlain* gave Notice thereof to the Chief Officers of the Houshold; whereupon all the Prelates and Grooms of the Bed-chamber in decent and mourning Habits repair to the Palace of *Monte Cavallo*, and found their late Master laid upon a Pallet, covered with Crimson Velvet: In their Presence *Altieri*, whose Office it was to do it, brake the *Sigillum Piscatorium*, or the *Pope*'s Seal in pieces, which is presently done, to prevent the use of it after his Death. The Notaries of the *Camera* took an Inventory of the Goods found in the Palace, which remain to his Successor; and therefore when a Pope draweth near his end, his Relations carry away and possess themselves of what they can, during his Life.

The Body of the *Pope* was then deliver'd to those who were to embalm it; and then the Bell of the *Capitol* was rung out, that the City might all be assur'd of his Death.

During the time that the Funeral Obsequies were Solemnizing, the *Cardinals* began to work in forming Parties against the Election. The Second of *August* several Cardinals assembled in St. *Peter*'s, and two by two in grave Order, in form of Procession, entred the *Conclave*; more coming in next day, they make up the number of Fifty Two; and on the Third of *August* the Conclave was shut, and Guards set by the Marshal of the Conclave. On the Fourth the Mass of *Veni Creator* was sung, and the *Cardinals* began the choice by way of Scrutiny.

The Persons nominated were *Vidone*, *Barberigo*, *Odescalchi*, *Spinola*, and *Cerri*, wherein appeared near an equality of Votes; *Odescalchi* had Eleven, but proceeding towards the Evening by way of Access, Seven only drew unto him.

On the Sixth day a second Scrutiny being made, *Corsini* had 27 Votes, and at the Access in the Evening 14 only appeared for him: However *Chigi*, who managed it for him, did not doubt of carrying it, till Cardinal *Altiardo*, Ambassador for *Spain*, opposing it, drew off the *Spanish* Party, and the Grand Duke of *Corsini*'s Faction followed.

Chigi then endeavours to gain the *French* Party, but was countermined by *Altieri*, and the *Flying* Squadron; things appearing thus, a Party of *Cardinals* united, being called the *New Squadron*, who pretended Zeal for the Church, and to be solely moved by a Principle of Piety to promote one eminent for Learning and Wisdom, without regard to Secular Interest. Cardinal *Pravina* was a chief among these, and at his first entrance into the

the Conclave had fixed upon our *Odeſcalchi*, for whom he uſed all his Endeavours, and would not be drawn off; and Scrutiny being again made, he had ſo wrought, that 36 Voices were in his Favour, enough to ſecure the Election; inſomuch that it was given out, That the Election was made, and People came flocking to the Gates; ſo that the Guards were doubled to keep off the Crowd, who preſſed into the Precincts of the *Conclave*. Yet at the Acceſs ſome fell off; for *Altieri* and *Chigi* laboured underhand, ſeducing ſome in hopes of being preferr'd: The *Spaniards* alſo were willing (on further conſideration) to ſpin out the time of giving a final dermination, expecting to hear from the Court of *Spain*.

The *French* Cardinals were chiefly for *Roſpiglioſi*; but in caſe his Intereſt ſhould fail, they approved beſt of *Odeſcalchi*; who, though he were a Subject of *Spain*, yet his Vertues and ſincere Intentions reconciled him to well-meaning Men, and made others ſhy of oppoſing him, unleſs they could carry it as their reſpective Intereſts lead them, which none elſe could form a Party to do; becauſe the *New Squadron* (who were firm to him) were 16 in number, and with their Adherents could always make above a third part, which was enough to prevent any other of his Complement, though they could not carry it themſelves.

Barberin and *Chigi* had a Negotiation for *Jachenetti*, that ballanced the *New Squadron*, and were probable to ſucceed; for on Scrutiny he had 22 Votes; but on Acceſs in the Evening, 11 only: Whereupon the *New Squdron* renewed the Scrutiny, and found 29 in their *Candidate*'s favour. By theſe ſeveral Scrutinies it appeared the *Conclave* were inclined moſt to *Odeſcalchi*, which again occaſioned a rumour in the Town, That he was choſen; and the other Parties finding they could not prevail, were likely to joyn; and indeed the *Conclave* had then proceeded to have compleated the Choice, and by Acceſſion created him *Pope*, had not the Cardinal *d' Eſtree* ſuſpended the Proceedings by a Requeſt made, *That their Eminences would for ſome time ſuſpend their final determination, until the Arrival of ſome* French *Cardinals, who, by that Kings Order, were on their Journey towards the Conclave; which*, he ſaid, *was not to hinder the choice of ſo worthy a Perſon, for whom he alſo concurr'd, but that his Chriſtian Majeſty might have opportunity thereby to joyn with them in ſo ſacred an Election, by the conſent and approbation which he was ready to yield unto.*

The *Conclave* in the mean time would be practiſing, and ſet up others; every one being willing to leave no ſtone unturn'd that might any wiſe conduce to advance one to the Chair, that they propos'd to themſelves Intereſt in, or at leaſt to gain it by being the Inſtruments for their Advancement. *Azzolino* promoted *Conti*, whoſe Intereſt being ſmall, he with *Chigi*, the Spaniſh Party, and the Great Dukes, ſets up *Piccolomini*; and to allure *Altieri*, engaged to advance his Friend *Bichi* to be *Cardinal Nephew*; but *Altieri* had other deſigns; *Chigi* failing herein, ſets up *Spinola*, but no more than 7 Votes could be procured in his Favour on the Scrutiny. Then ſome propos'd *Creſcentio*; but the Duke *d' Eſtree*, Ambaſſador for the French King, eſteem'd him an Enemy to *France*, where-

by

by that Party was too great for his Promoters: Then on a new Scrut: *Odeſcalchi* had 14 Voices, *Carpegna* 7. *Alberici* 9. *Gaſtaldi* 9. *Albici* 5. and *Creſcentio* 3.

After this manner divers deſigns and Intreagues were working, till the arrival of the four French *Cardinals*, which was the 13*th* of *Auguſt*, and then a ſpeedy Election was expected; but thoſe hopes were ſoon blaſted; for ſtill they were embroiled, and *Arbritio* by the dextrous management of *Altieri* and others, was in a fair way; but the ſeveral deſigns of others were enough to oppoſe any one, that ſtill they thwarted, and no one party could gain his Complement.

On *September* 1. the French Cardinals entred the *Conclave*, with a great train and concourſe of People after them, crying out for a ſpeedy Election, and naming *Roſpiglioſi* and *Odeſcalchi*. And the French Party ſeem'd to encline to the later. But their King being greater in the *Conclave*, as well as in other Princes Councils, they would not joyn a ſufficient number to conclude the matter, until they had his approbation; and an expreſs is ſent with their Informations, and for Inſtructions; and ſo ſtill the time was delayed, and the *Cardinals* began to quarrel among themſelves on ſlight matters, ſince they could not carry their deſigns in the greater, nor ſo well vent their Gaul about it. *Colonna* and *Maldachino* could not refrain giving one another ſuch reproachful Words, as *Fool* and *Beaſt*, upon a ſmall account; but with others concerned in it, grew a conteſt between *Buglion* and *Howard*, for that the former had not return'd a Viſit that the latter had made him. *Buglion*, to excuſe himſelf, frankly told him, *That it was the King's expreſs Command not to acknowledge the Cardinals of the laſt promotion.* *Howard* would not allow his Excuſe, alledging divers particular reſpects that the French King had made him, and cauſed him to be treated in all parts of *France*, as he paſſed through it from *London* to *Rome* as a Cardinal; and now the others of the ſame promotion joyn him; but the French oppoſing, the *Conclave* feared that diſorder and confuſion would enſue, and therefore procured the French Cardinals to ſubſcribe a Letter to their King, beſeeching him to give Orders to his Embaſſador and Cardinals to viſit and own thoſe Cardinals of *Clement* the Tenth's Promotion, which otherwiſe might cauſe a Schiſm, and many Inconveniences to the whole *Conclave*, to the diſturbance of the preſent affair, until Anſwers were return'd to the Diſpatches. Such an Aſcendent had this Monarch (though at ſuch diſtance) over this great Council, that though they pretend to the Conduct of God's good Spirit, and ſing the *Veni Creator*, yet the Spirit of *France* muſt direct them, that they would not joyn in an Election till they heard thence; which, though by making Parties they could ſomewhat obſtruct, yet they could not prevail for any other, and in divers Scrutinies it was always moſt favourable for our *Odeſcalchi*; and though they muſt waſte time for his Anſwers, yet they could not be free from Trials of Skill, and made ſeveral Scrutinies in favour of *Maſſini*, *Cerri*, *Jachinetti*, and others, in which, though there was fervor and ardency in the intereſted Perſons, yet the favour of the whole Conclave was faint and inſignificant; ſo that for a long time many paid

reverence and respect to *Odescalchi*, as the only man who was likely to carry it.

The Courier return'd from *France* on the 19*th* of *September*; on the 20*th* the Ambassador was introduced into the *Conclave*, who presented his Majesty's Letters, and in an eloquent Speech represented the necessity of a speedy Election, (*though the delays had been procured by him*) the present concern of *Christendom*, not bearing the inconvenience of an *Interregnum*, or a Vacancy in that Government: That they had an ample Field for their Election, the College of Cardinals consisting of so many vertuous Persons, all fit to Reign. Yet considering the Vicar of Christ ought to transcend in all the Vertues and Graces of Religion, to be such an one as would reform the Abuses and Corruptions, which to the Scandal of the Christian Church, were crept into the Court of *Rome*; if there was any one that did excel others for a publick Spirit, sincere, and disinterested, he ought to be the Man, and did (though without naming) decipher the very Person of *Odescalchi*. And having praised and applauded *Barberino*, and giving God thanks for the great Piety and Zeal of that Man, he retired, leaving the Conclave to their Election, after he had delivered forth the Inspiration from *France*, which the Major part received, and therefore now there was no difficulty to be expected.

That Evening a great number of Cardinals went to the Cell of *Odescalchi*, and gave him the kiss of Covenant, who with Tears in his Eyes desir'd them to find a Subject more fit, and able to bear such a Load and Burden of so great weight, and shewed some unwillingness and reluctancy; but being overcome by Arguments and Entreaties, he consented, on condition, they would assent unto, and subscribe certain Articles for reformation of Ecclesiastical Government, which he then proposed to them; which the Cardinals approving, a great part Subscribed it that Night, and swore to maintain them, as did the others in like manner the day following.

By this time *Altieri*, (who had all along been the Intreaguing Man) finding it was a folly to contend any longer, became the forwardest of any to make the Scrutiny, and had Nineteen of his Creatures to follow him. The Choice was therefore immediately determined by Access; and on the 21*st* of *September*, 1676. the whole *Conclave*, with one Voice and Mind, declared *Odescalchi* to be the Pope of *Rome*, and the Vicar of Christ, and the true and undoubted Successor of *St. Peter*. And then the Dean of the College, according to his Duty, lead the way to Adoration, and the other *Cardinals* followed, according to their Places and Seniority.

He was next vested in his *Pontificalibus*, and took the name of *Innocent* XI. in remembrance of his Benefactor *Innocent* X. (as some others have us'd to do, bestowing likewise their Cap on some relation to such their Benefactor). Then he was conducted to the Chappel with the usual Ceremonies, and at the Altar received the second time Adoration. After which the Master of the Ceremonies demanded, Whether it were his Holiness's pleasure, that the Nobility attending without, desirous to kis his Feet, should be admitted in, to pay that duty and devotion which they

they owed to Saint *Peter*? which being granted, the *Queen* of *Sweden* was firſt introduced to pay her devoir; and then the Embaſſadors of the Crowned Heads, and after them the *Princes*, *Prelates* and *Nobles*, who kiſſed his Feet, teſtifi'd their great joy for ſo worthy a Man's being advanced to the Papal Chair.

After which a door was opened over the great Porch of Saint *Peter's* Church, into which the Maſter of the Ceremonies led the way, carrying a Croſs before the new *Pope* and *Cardinals*, which the People (tho at great diſtance) reverenced, and the *Cardinal Deacon*, preſenting the *Pope* before them, pronounced with a ſtrong voice the accuſtomed words, *Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum: habemus Pontificem Eminentiſſimum & Reverendiſſimum Dominum, Cardinalem Benedictum Odeſcalchum, qui ſibi nomen impoſuit Innocentii* XI.

Great Joy the City expreſſed on this *Popes* advancement, and demonmonſtrated it by ringing Bells, firing Cannon, vollies of Small ſhot, Drums and Trumpets; and the Soldiers ſeized the Coach, Horſes, and Coach-mans Cloak as their Fees. The Popes reſentment during the Ceremonies, and ſinging *Te Deum*, was rather Penſiveneſs and Mortification than Joy or Loftineſs, which many of his Predeceſſors could not conceal, and it was obſerv'd that he bleſſed and croſſed the People with tears in his Eyes.

He was Elected the twenty firſt of *September* 1676. and Crowned the fourth of *October* following, with the uſual Ceremonies; and as you had an account of the manner of Elections, it will not be amiſs here to lay down the form and manner of the Coronation of Popes.

The whole Ceremony takes up a days time, and for refreſhment (the better to ſupport the labour and toil) in the midſt of the day the Cardinals take a ſhort repoſe, and it is but neceſſary, conſidering their years, moſt being aged Perſons, and ſometimes it happens in a hot ſeaſon; it is remembred of one Pope, that the toyl thereof coſt him his life.

It would be tedious to ſet down or read every particular Ceremony, I ſhall therefore only give a ſummary account, yet omitting nothing that is material.

In the Morning early the *Pope* goes from his Bed-chamber into the Chamber called *Papagalli*, where he is clothed by the *Cardinal-Deacons*, *Sub Deacons*, and other Officers, with a white *Caſſock* girt about with a long *Girdle*: Over it he wears his *Stole* and *Pluvial*, or a robe of a Scarlet colour, with a rich *Mitre* on his head, ſet with many pretious Stones In this Habit, having the train of his *Robes* carried up by the *Emperor*. or ſome *King* then preſent, or in their abſence by one of the chieſeſt, *Princes* attending at the Ceremony; a Canopy of State over his Head ſupported by Eight *Ambaſſadors* or *Nobles*, and the *Cardinals* in their Habits walking before with a Croſs for their Banner, they orderly proceed to Saint *Peters* Church: where being entred, and having laid aſide his *Mitre*, and prayed a while, he ariſes and goeth into the Chappel of Saint *Gregory*, by ſome called Saint *Andrew*, and being ſat in a Chair placed

there for that purpoſe; he receives all the *Cardinals* with their Caps on their Heads to kiſs his Hand, and other Prelates his Feet: Then the *Pope* ariſing ſtands up and bleſſeth the People. After which the *Sub-Deacon* reads the Epiſtle, and all the reſt of the Office for the Coronation, which being performed, the *Pope* veſts himſelf with the *Pontifical* habit, according to the method preſcribed in this caſe. By ancient conſtitution it belonged only to the *Biſhop* of *Hoſtea* to Conſecrate the Pope; of late years the firſt *Cardinal Biſhop* performs that function: in Conſecrating a *Pope*, he is anointed with Oyl on his Head, and the Palms of his Hands; *his Conſecration is not always the day of his Coronation.* This *Preludium* being over, and the *Pope* himſelf having celebrated *Maſs*, he goes to the ſtairs aſcending to the Altar of Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul*, where a Throne is erected for him, on which being ſeated, and encompaſſed by his *Prelates*, and the People order'd to keep diſtance; the *Dean-Cardinal* takes the *Mitre* off the *Popes* Head, and placeth it on the left Hand, and having the *Triple-Crown* ready, he ſets that on his Head, the People crying out *Lord have mercy upon us.*

Then the Dean publiſheth the Pardons and Indulgences which the *Pope* grants them, proclaiming them on the right Hand in Latin, on the left in the vulgar Language; *So the People pray and the Pope anſwers them.*

The *Pope* and his *Cardinals* then go and dine at the Palace of the *Arch-Presbyters* of Saint *Peters*, and the other *Prelates* at the Houſes of the *Canons.* After Dinner, the *Cardinals* mount their Mules, and the *Pope* his Horſe, and march in ſolemn Proceſſion to the *Lateran*, attended with a very great Train of the Nobles and Officers in due rank and order; the *Pope* being alighted, is met by the chief *Canon* of the Church, who offers the Croſs to be kiſſed by him, which the *Dean-Cardinal* taking from his Hands, holds to the *Popes* Mouth: Then they take the *Triple Crown* from off his Head, for the burden of it, (conſiſting of Gold and Jewels) is too heavy for an old Man to bear long, and deliver it to the cuſtody of the Auditor of the *Rota*, and the *Mitre* is again placed on the *Popes* Head: Then he is conducted to the *Sedes Stercoraria*, on which he ſeems rather to lye then to ſit, from which he is honorably raiſed by the *Cardinals*, and this Hymn is ſung. *He hath put down the mighty from their ſeats, and hath exalted the humble and meek*; (tho ſome have been the proudeſt Men in their Age.) *He hath raiſed the needy from the duſt, that he may ſet him among the Princes of his People:* tho he were never ſo rich a Prince before.

After this ſeveral ſhort Ceremonies are perform'd, and Adoration again paid by the *Cardinals* and *Prelates*; and by this it is Evening and the *Pope* returns to his Palace of *Monte Cavallo*; commonly, ſufficiently tired with the Fatigues of the Day.

The buiſneſs the French Cardinals came for being over, they prepare for their return; and if the *French* King had then known how this *Pope* would have acted, they would have had no thanks for their labour, as will ſufficiently appear in the ſequel of this Hiſtory. But to make all fair with

the

(ture, they (by the *Kings* Order)
the Court of *Rome*, before their the laſt Promotion, and ſo a good
paid their Viſits to the *Cardinals* eſtabliſhed.
Correſpondence was renewed upon the affairs of Government, but he caſt

The Pope no ſooner on a Reformation of ſeveral abuſes and grievous
in his thoughts how to both in the Court and Church of *Rome*: For the
Corruptions that w Intereſt of the Traffiking Religious, whoſe chief
later the Power ruptions of the Chriſtian Religion, he had little hopes
gain lies in the m it, at leaſt wiſe at his firſt entrance, and if ever he could
of doing m gradually effected: But as to his Court, that lay in his own
it muſt ; and therefore in the firſt place he declares againſt *Nepotiſm*, and
Pow- ruled to receive his Nephew *Don Livio* into any part of the Govern-
ment, forbidding him to receive or return Viſits under the notion of Ne-
phew to the *Pope*. Had a *Pope* a mind to flatter or gain upon the Clergy
and People of *Rome*, he could not have pitcht upon one thing ſo much to
oblige them: For theſe *Nephews* having the management of the affairs,
beſtow'd all Benefices, Offices, *&c.* on them that bid moſt, exerciſing a
Tyrannical Power over great and ſmall, rich and poor, for the agrandi-
zing themſelves and heaping up riches for their poſterities; tho for that
end they alſo exhauſted the Treaſure of the Apoſtolical Chamber, with-
out any regard to the Weal-publick, or the oppreſſion of the People, or
damage the Church ſuſtain'd. But it was hop'd this *Pope* did it in ſincer-
ty, which made it the more grateful. And that his Nephew might not
complain of the ſeverity of his Uncle, and look upon himſelf more un-
fortunate than any had been, who were ſo nearly allied to the Papal Chair,
he relinquiſh'd unto him, in preſent, all his Temporal Eſtate, amounting
unto thirty thouſand Crowns of yearly Revenue.

He was not ſatisfi'd in denying himſelf that in which his Predeceſſors
were extreamly ſolicitous, I mean their advancing their Kindred and *Ne-
phews*, (many of their Families being ſtill known by the Princes they
advanced) but to continue it to Poſterity, he drew up a *Bull* perpetually
to abrogate *Nepotiſm*, which yet he could never procure the *Conclave* to
paſs, tho it hath been long experienced to be groſly ſcandalous among
them; ſo hard a matter it is to reform *Rome*, ſo that he hath only left
his Example and Endeavours herein to be admired by Poſterity. I have
here inſerted it in Engliſh as followeth,

The Minutes or preparation of a Bull *which our most holy Father* Innocent XI. *was about making, for the moderating some abuses in the Apostolick* See.

Innocent Pope, Servant of the Servants of God, for a perpetual memory hereof.

HAving often considered in our mind, that the holy Synod of Trent, *treading in the steps of the holy* Fathers, *does altogether forbid, that any one should study to enrich their Relations or Friends, out of the Revenues of the Church; and doth admonish them as much as may be, that they absolutely lay aside all worldly affections to* Brothers, Nephews, *and other of their kindred, which has occasioned many mischiefs in the* Church. *And the same holy Synod decreeing, That these things which are spoken in relation to* Bishops, *ought to be observed not only by all having Ecclesiastical* Benefices, *as well Secular as Regular, but even by the* Cardinals *of the Church of* Rome *themselves, who being of Council to the* Pope, *for the administration of the affairs of the Universal* Church, *ought above all to excel in those eminent vertues, and regularity of living, which may deservedly turn the Eyes of all upon them: But the reason holding much stronger, that the* Pope *himself who is placed by the most* High *in his House, as a shining light on a Candlestick, should keep the wholsom Constitutions of the* Fathers, *in such manner as to provoke by his Example all other* Prelates *to the observing of them.*

Having seriously considered these things, among the manifold and weighty cares of our Pastoral Charge, which (as far as our frailty permits) we dayly sustain for the Church, *in order to the Salvation of Souls, and the promoting the Works of Piety: We have observed this wholsom discipline, establisht by the* Fathers, *all along from the beginning of our* Popedom, *and with the* Lords *help shall observe it as long as we live. But to declare to our Successors what we think unlawful, we have forever firmly Decreed, to establish the same Discipline in this holy* See, *from which* Bishops *and other* Prelates *of Churches ought to take Examples of Truth; being partly led to it by the present Exigencies and narrowness of the* Pontifical *Treasury, which we do not doubt but is sufficiently known to our Brethren.*

Therefore for the glory of Almighty God, *the honour of this* Apostolical See, *and the good example of* Prelates *and Governors in the Church,*

Church, and also that the Apostolical *Chamber may have no damage. We do for ever Establish and Decree, That it shall not be lawful, neither for Us, nor for any of our Successors,* Popes *of* Rome, *by any manner of pretext or colour, directly, or indirectly, or by any sort of Title of Bounty or Free-Gift, or for Gain and Advantage in whole, or in part, to dispose of Monies, Places of the* Montes, *void or not void, set to Sale, and dispos'd of in consideration of their Price, or any manner of Rights that do any ways belong to the Apostolical See and Chamber, in favour of* Brothers, Nephews, *or others* related *by* Blood *or* Marriage, *or the intimate Acquaintance or Favourites, as well of Our Self, as of every Roman Bishop Our Successor for the time being respectively; and likewise that nothing of this shall be done in favor of those that may be any ways made choice of, and taken into the Family of any Pope in the room of* Nephews, *or other near* Relations.

Moreover We Decree, That it shall not be lawful neither for Us, nor for any of the Popes *of* Rome *Our Successors by Apostolical Grant to enrich* Brothers, Nephews, *and* Relations *by Blood or Marriage, or any that may be received, or chosen in their place, or Favourites aforesaid, with* Churches, Monasteries, *or any other* Benefices *or* Pensions, *of what kind or quality soever; nor with any manner of Ecclesiastical Incoms, Fruits, Revenues, Perquisites, Rights or Profits beyond the merits of any one of them, and the decent maintenance of that Dignity they obtain in the* Church; *that so a due moderation, and the Rules of distributive Justice being in all things observed, there may be no occasion of complaining or cavilling left to any one, but the* Ecclesiastical Revenue *may be distributed to those that labour in the Church of God, according to every ones merit. But if the aforesaid* Brothers, Nephews, *and other* Relations *by Blood or Marriage, or those that are chosen and received in their Place, should fall into want, the* Pope *for the time being, in his tender concern, may relieve their Poverty out of the Revenues of the* See *and Chamber aforesaid, in the same manner as he relieves poor Strangers out of the Goods of the Church, which are God's; but so as the Goods of the See and Chamber may not be bestowed on those, or havock't or imbezel'd for the sake of those. But if (which God forbid) the measure of kindness equally here, and wholsomly prescribed, should be exceeded towards* Brothers, Nephews, *and other* Relations *by Blood or Marriage, and Favourites, the Bishops of* Rome *successively may and ought, either at the Instance of any one, or by their own proper motion, to take away those things that were unduly obtained from them, and to revoke and annul what is given*

or

or freely granted in the way above-mentioned; and herein must be no place for ill-will or favor, but all things must be reduced to the rule of Apostolical Equity, *besides other Punishments, which may be inflicted at the Will of the* Pope. *And that as little damage as is possible may accrue to the* Apostolical Chamber, *We do suppress and abolish the Office of* General *of the* Roman *Church, and the Stipend or Emolument of the Superintendent of the State of the Church, and also of the Government of the City* Beneventum, *which was used to be paid by the said Chamber; adhering in this both to the sense of the College of Cardinals our Brethren, in a late Conclave, wherein We, by the Grace of God, were raised to the Popedom; and also by a Secret* Decree, *made by Us in Our Consistory, the* 16th *of* December, 1676. *And do We also Establish and Decree, That other Military Offices, which have been estimated according to the changes of the times, and as we at this present do estimate them, shall not be bestowed with a Salary or Stipend.*

And that all things as is aforesaid may for ever remain in their full strength, We will and command, That as all and singular the Cardinals *present have promised and sworn, as much as in them lies, to observe this* Bull, *and never to withstand it, nor to consent to any Pope's acting against it; so likewise that this shall be done by the Cardinals now absent from the Consistory and Court of* Rome, *whensoever they shall repair to the said Court, and shall be promised and sworn to by all future* Cardinals *when they receive the* Hat; *and this Oath shall be added to that which is taken of course by all the Cardinals. And we Decree, That those that do otherwise, shall thereby incur the pain of Perjury, and perpetual Infamy* Juris & Facti. *Moreover We Decree and Ordain, the* Cardinals, *in the Vacancy of the* Apostolical See, *promise by Oath the Observation of the* Bull *of* Pius V. *of happy memory, our Predecessor,* De non infœdandis, *&c. and of* Sixtus V. *concerning the aforesaid Monies, reposited in the Castle of St.* Angelo; *and likewise the Constitutions of other Roman Bishops our Predecessors. So every one that shall be Elected* Pope, *after he is elected to the Papal Dignity, shall promise and swear inviolably to observe this our present* Bull, *according to the express form and tenor of the aforesaid* Bull *of* Sixtus V. *our Predecessor, in the* 11th *Section.*

And We will, that these Our Letters be drawn into a Libel, and added to the aforesaid Decrees of Pius *and* Sixtus V. *&c. for Entry and Publishing, &c.*

But

But since *Princes* are not able to undergo the Burthen of Government, without Officers and assistants, and that as these are, so must they expect the events of their Governments: This Pope without any respect to his own Relations, chose such as he thought were Men of Sincerity, and adequate to the Imployments he intrusted them with. In the first place he made Cardinal *Cibo* his Secretary of State, being a person endued with a great and generous Soul, a clear Understanding, Zealous for the welfare of the Church, and dexterous in the management of Publick affairs. The Family of the *Altieri* having before enjoy'd it, he continued in their Military Employments, as he did the other Officers. But since they were at Peace with all the World, for ease of the Chamber (much indebted) he caus'd the Officers of the Papal Army to satisfie themselves with the honour thereof without pay. Yet intending to do such things that would render himself obnoxious to ill Men, he encreas'd his number of Archers; wherein he took all the care he could to have such Men listed as were discreet and sober, not given to quarrels, or apt to commit Insolencies, as the *Corsi* had done in Pope *Alexander* VII. time, which gave him great trouble; for upon affronting the *French Kings Embassador*, he sent an Army into *Italy*, which oblig'd that *Pope* to disband them, and erect a Pillar with an Inscription of their Banishment, and for what Cause.

In the next place, for due administration of Justice, that Criminals might no longer secure themselves in privileg'd places, which were many and very large, and for long time had been the common shelters of Villains and the worst of Men; he would not allow such places for the future to be Sanctuaries, tho they were the Houses of *Ambassadors* and great Princes in *Rome*; and in pursuance thereof caused a famous *Bandito* to be seized at *Riccia*, a Seat of the Prince *Chigi*, which was done without any opposition, tho afterward the French and this Pope had great contests about it.

The *Pope* also confirmed the seventeen Articles which were signed in the *Conclave* of *Cardinals*, a little before the time of the Election, (which other *Popes* in the like case have failed to do.) These for the most part tended to a Reformation of Manners, and to amendment of those abuses which were crept into the Church. That himself might be a pattern of Temperance and Sobriety, he retrencht the expences of his House, and lived so frugally, that his own Table diet exceeded not five shillings a meal; he reproved the vanity of the *Cardinals* in their fine Cloaths and Liveries and outward Gaities, not becoming the gravity of Men of their Order (contrary to other *Popes* who labour'd to dignifie 'em with honours.)

And because the Corruption of the Church, as it began, so continued by ill Men's being in it, who were commonly preferr'd by Friendship or Mony, and not for deserts; he appointed four *Cardinals*, and four other *Clergy-men*, to examine the Lives and Manners of such who aspired to the Degree of *Bishops*, ordering them to admit none thereto suspected, or in the least blemished with ill Fame, or debauched Conversation, or taxed with Ignorance. And to shew his dislike of such debaucheries, and prevent

Temptations, he drove out of *Rome* the Curtesans and Strumpets, and persons openly Scandalous and Dissolute in their Manners and Behaviour; and in particular banisht a Gentleman of Quality into *Germany*, for endeavouring to ravish a Lady. He put down Gaming-Houses, and forbad all lewd and unlawful Assemblies; wherefore those sort of Men did account this *Popes* reign but a dull time, and were weary of it long before it expir'd. Tho in truth Conversation hath been free and unlimited; for tho at *Rome* there is no Printed News, yet in the Anti-chambers of *Cardinals*, Ambassadors, Princes, and particularly at the Queen of *Swedens*, all the News of *Europe* was usually discours'd (not without animadversions or reflections upon it:) And tho Learning be not much in Vogue there; yet those that would apply themselves to it, might meet with no discouragements, and a general outward Civility (according to the *Italian* way) was practis'd over the City, and strangers kindly receiv'd (being not obnoxious in their Speeches) so that they may live there without any molestation, and discourse freely enough of any thing that is the common subject of Civil Conversation.

And for the rights and properties of the meaner people, in regard the *Barons* of *Rome*, by the priviledge of their *Nobility*, were above the reach of their *Creditors*; the *Pope* ordered *Cardinal Cibo* to take an account of such Creditors as would bring it in, what any of these priviledg'd persons owed them, and to pay their dues out of the Chamber; causing such persons to assign the Debts due to them to the Chamber, which could better deal with them by proceedings out of the Exchequer.

Many have accounted him Covetous, and one that made it his buisness to heap up Wealth, and probably there might be more reason to lay that to his charge rather than other vices; and one thing they take notice of is, That he hath not rais'd any publick Structure or Building for the glory of the City, as other *Popes* have done, who advancing their Families at publick expence, if not oppression, were willing to do somthing of that Nature to stop the Peoples Mouths, or else for vain-glory, and to perpetuate their memories to Posterity. But this *Pope* found the Chamber greatly in debt, by the ill management of affairs before him, and also did not know what occasion he might have to defend his Dominions, if the *Turk* had prevail'd at *Vienna*, or the *French* King should have invaded a people long accustomed to ease and luxury. But he hath parted with great store of Mony to carry on the War against the *Turk*. And one particular Act of generosity, in this first year of his Reign, is observable, *Christina* Queen of *Sweden* having the greatest part of her Revenue from *Sweden* stopt, (through the necessities of the Times) the *Pope* in recompence thereof, for her comfortable livelyhood, allowed her a Pension of 3000 *l. per Annum.*

Having done these things at home, he now looks abroad, and considering the *Turk*, as the Common Enemy of Christendom, he writes Letters to the *Emperor*, the Kings of *France* and *Spain* to be at Peace, offering himself for Mediator, and to assist in it in Person, provided the place appointed

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the Treaty were ſome City of the Catholick Religion; and animated the *King* of *Poland*, to continue his War againſt the *Turk*, for the recovery of *Kaminiec*, and to be reveng'd on the *Vizier Kuperlee* for taking Contribution from the City of *Leopolis*, and remitted to him the Sum of 50000 Crowns to aſſiſt him therein.

1677. Whilſt the *Pope* labour'd for Peace abroad, the better to repoſe himſelf, and advance the Affairs of the Church, which never have thriven in War, unleſs in ſome Caſes to divert War from *Italy*, the *Popes* have been incendiaries to raiſe it in others places, and thereby may be ſaid to get advantage; I ſay, while he labour'd for Peace among others, thoſe very perſons whoſe good he deſign'd thereby, did make but an ill requital, tho no advantage could accrue to ſome of them. The firſt accident that had like to ſet *Rome* in a Tumult was this, The King of *Spains* Embaſſador without the *Popes* leave, (pretending the *French* for his Example) knowing his Maſter wanted Soldiers in *Sicily*, adventured to make ſome levies of Men at *Rome*: People knowing the hardſhip his Soldiers uſed to endure, came in ſlowly to liſt themſelves, and a rumour was ſpread, that he had hid Men in Cellars, which getting wind among the Vulgar, glad of a pretence to be tumultuous, and egg'd on by a ſecret malice they had entertain'd againſt that Nation; they affronted them in all places, which ended ſometimes in ſcuffles and fightings, ſo that ſeveral were kill'd and ſome wounded; againſt ſuch a torrent, there was no reſiſtance to be made by a few Spaniards, but they were forced to retire and keep cloſe. The *Pope* uſed ſeverity againſt ſuch as were found guilty of theſe Riots, tho the Spaniards not thinking that ſufficient ſatisfaction, refuſed or durſt not appear at Court; and the Vice-Roy of *Naples* refuſed to give Audience to the *Popes* Nuntio there, without any colour or ground. The *Pope* was hereat diſturbed, and in purſuing of his Decree for depriving all places and perſons of the priviledge of harbouring Outlaws and Criminals; he publiſhid an Edict forbidding all Perſons to affix the Arms of any *Ambaſſador*, *Prince*, or *Noble Man* over their Shops, looking upon it as a Mark, or Sign that they had renounced his Protection, and put themſelves under the Perſons whoſe Arms they had ſo affixed; and declared he would Govern at *Rome*, as other Princes did in their Dominions. This his courage and reſolution ſurprized many, who thought it, as indeed it was, no ſmall thing to take away that which had been allow'd by his Predeceſſors, wherein were ſo many great Perſons concern'd; beſides the incenſing of thoſe *Deſperadoes* who were hereby covered from Juſtice.

The Circumſtances of the *Spaniard* would not admit him to contend, but deſires Audience, which the *Pope* denies till his *Nuntio* were heard at *Naples*; which being done, and the *Spaniard* deſiring by Letter that his *Ambaſſador* might have Audience on ſome emergent Occaſion, at the perſwaſion of *Cardinals Cibo* and *Barbarino* it was at laſt granted, and the Ambaſſador departed well ſatisfy'd with the proceedings of the Court. And this had better iſſue for *Rome*, than the conteſt between *Paul* V. and the *Venetians*; for he intending to make all Kingdoms truckle to him,

begins with the States of *Venice*, who he thought would not ſtand upon Points of honour, as Crowned Heads might do; but he took wrong meaſures, for neither his Spiritual nor Temporal weapons could bring them to recede from their rights, and ſo with ſhame he deſiſted.

The Conteſts between *Popes* and *Princes* have been the troubles of the Court and City of *Rome*; but tho this *Pope* hath had ſome ſhare in them, yet he hath held his own without War or Bloodſhed. And it was no mean concern to enter the liſts with one that then appear'd, and ever ſince until now, the greateſt Monarch in *Europe*, I mean the *French* King who ſtil'd himſelf *Lewis le Grand.*

The Conteſt was about the *Regalia* wherein I ſhall follow Sir *Paul Rycaut*'s Hiſtory of this matter (who hath for the moſt part extracted it from the now Biſhop of *Sarum*'s tract on that Subject) ſo far as he carries it.

The point of the *Regalia* had been an ancient diſpute for many Ages in *France*, which was in ſome ſort determined in the Year 1431. by the Council of *Baſil*, where it was ordained that Cathedral Churches and others ſhould have a freedom of Elections: This afterwards was confirmed by a general Aſſembly of French Clergy at *Bourges*, and addreſs'd to King *Charles* the Seventh, deſiring him to protect that Council. At that time the Council of *Baſil* ſent to the King an Abſtract of their Decrees, conſiſting of Thirty Seven Articles, by which Decennial Councils, and the Authority of the Councils above the Pope was eſtabliſhed, *&c.* together with an Abſtract of the Decree they had made concerning Elections. All which were conſidered at that Aſſembly at *Bourges*, where the *Dauphin* and the chief Nobility of *France* were preſent, and by their Advice the famous *Pragmatick Sanction* was made in Confirmation of thoſe Articles, which was obſerved during the Reign of *Charles* the Seventh. But *Lewis* the Eleventh eſteeming it the Intereſt of *France* to maintain a good correſpondency with the Pope, was inclinable to wave the advantage of this Sanction. In the beginning of *Charles* VIII. an Aſſembly of States being called at *Tours*, the Third Eſtate petition'd, that the *Pragmatick Sanction* might be again renewed and confirmed; calling thoſe which were preferred by the Court, *Court-Biſhops*; ſo it was again put into force and practice, much to the diſpleaſure of the Pope; notwithſtanding which *Lewis* XII. made a perpetual Edict in confirmation of it: *Francis* I. ſucceeding to the Crown, and having vaſt Deſigns in *Italy*, thought it not his Intereſt to ſtand at a diſtance with the Pope, and therefore was willing to treat with him about the Abolition of the *Pragmatick Sanction* on ſuch terms, as might reconcile his own Prerogative with the Popes Authority. This Deſign occaſion'd an Interview between the King and Pope at *Bologna*, and thence the *Concordat* was produced, which was afterward put into the form of a *Bull*, and confirmed by the Council of *Lateran*: The Sum of which was, *The* King *and the* Pope *agreed to divide the Promotion to all* Prelacies *between them*; *for the* King *was to nominate the Perſon within Six Months after a Vacancy, and the* Pope *was to confirm him, if no lawful exception*

ception did lie againſt him. When the Emperors were low by adverſe Fortune, the Popes forced them to be beholding to them, and not without ſome far-fetch'd Notion would make advantage for themſelves; and ſometimes Emperors and Princes have retaliated the like meaſure to Popes.

Lewis XIV. in the year 1673. being high and Proſperous in his Fortune, reſolved to put a Period to the Proceſs for the *Regale*, which had continued near Thirty years, and made this Declaration:

That the King *had Right of* Regale *in all his Dominions, except only in thoſe Sees, that had purchaſed their Exemption from it: And therefore all Biſhops who had not yet Regiſtred their Oaths of Fidelity in the* Chamber *of* Accounts, *were required to do it, and to take out a* Writ *upon it for cloſing the* Regale, *otherwiſe their Biſhopricks were ſtill to be looked upon as under it.*

All the Biſhops of *France*, unwilling to incur the Diſpleaſure of their ſucceſsful *Monarch*, ſubmitted; excepting the Biſhops of *Alet* and *Pamiers.*

It was now under the Reign of *Clement* X, an old doting *Pope*, who committed the management of the *Pontificate* to *Altieri*, a Perſon from his beginning diſtaſtful to the Court of *France.* This was the time for *France* to move the *Pope*, who knew not his own Intereſt; and *Altieri* was not able to contend in ſo litigious a caſe againſt ſo powerful a Prince.

In *January* 1676. The Kings Right was claimed in diſpoſal of the Deanry of *Alet*; the Diſpute was left to the Biſhops to maintain, neither the Pope nor his Cardinals taking cognizance of it. This *Pope* dying in *Auguſt* following, left the Conteſt to our *Innocent* XI. more able to maintain it than his Predeceſſor. Another Caſe alſo happened; one *Pawcet* was provided in right of the *Regale* to be Arch-Deacon of *Pamiers*, but was rejected by the Biſhop and Chapter; howſoever the *Regale* prevailed; for the Archbiſhop of *Tholouſe* gave Judgment in favour of the *Regaliſt*; but on the contrary, the Biſhop of *Pamiers* acquieſced not in this Sentence, but appealed to the *Pope*, who was now engaged in the Controverſie, and the matter lodged in his Hands.

1678. Wherefore the *Pope* writ his Brief to the French King, and in ſoft, and yet preſſing Terms, complained *of the Innovations made on the Liberties of the Church, and the Authority of the Council of* Lions: And after ſeveral Arguments to perſwade him to deſiſt from this Enterprize, he concludes, *He cannot forget thoſe* Popes *his Predeceſſors, whom, upon the like Occaſion, had endured long and great Afflictions.*

But theſe Allegations ſatisfy'd not the King, who pretended, That the Rights of the *Regale* were inherent in the Crown, and had been enjoyed by his Anceſtors, and by them derived down to himſelf. The *Pope* on the other ſide replyed, *That the* Secular Power *had no Right to things Sacred, but as it was derived to them by the Authority of the Church, and that the Church had not granted any ſuch Right, having expreſly limited it by the Council of* Lyons, *which hath now been obſerved* 400 *years.*

This Controverſie ſeemed to lie dormant from *September* 1678. unto *December* 1679. when it was again revived in the See of *Pamiers*, in that point

point which concerned the Vacant Benefices, and the mean Profits; for the Kings Officers ſeized on them, ſo that the good old Biſhop had nothing to live on the laſt twenty Months of his Life, but the Oblations and Charity of his People. This occaſioned the Pope to write to Cardinal *D' Eſtree* to interpoſe in this Affair, as being a Perſon more than ordinarily concerned in the Dignity of the Apoſtolical See, to which the Cardinal anſwer'd in the Style of a Court-Biſhop, extolling the Kings Merit, his Zeal for the Faith, and reſpect for the Apoſtolical Chair; what he had done for the ſuppreſſing of *Calviniſts* and Hereſie within his Dominions, and how bravely he had defended the Chriſtian Cauſe againſt the *Turks*; and in fine, he laid down the dangers which would follow, if any Diſſention ſhould ariſe between that King and the Church.

At length Cardinal *D'Eſtree* was diſpatched to *Rome* with a Letter of Credence, and Orders to treat immediately with the *Pope* himſelf; but it ſeems his Negotiation produced little Alteration; for the Pope continued ſteady and conſtant to his Principles: And on the other ſide, the Parliament of *Paris* became as zealous for the Kings Right and Authority, for which the Kings Attorney General pleading, made little eſteem of the Popes Cenſures in reſpect of the Kings Orders.

The Church (ſaid he) *may indeed have an Authority to puniſh Men for Hereſie and an ill Life; but the World was now too well enlightned, not to diſcern, that the Thunders of* Rome *had been for ſeveral Ages vainly employed, for extending its Authority beyond all due Bounds, the Limits whereof were to be found in the Canons of the Church, by which the Pope, as well as others, ought to govern himſelf.* And therefore deſired that the laſt *Brief* ſent by the Pope might be ſuppreſſed, which was accordingly done by a Judgment of the Court of Parliament on the laſt of *March*, 1681.

And to give a farther Authority to this Judgment, an extraordinary Aſſembly was called of all the *Biſhops* then reſiding at *Paris*, where were preſent Six Archbiſhops, Twenty Six Biſhops, and Six that were named to Biſhopricks, to whom the Agents of the Clergy repreſented the Invaſions made on the Liberties of the Gallican Church by the *Popes* Briefs, both in general, concerning the *Regale*; and in particular, in the Affair at *Pamiers*, and the *Nunneries*, and concerning a Book of *Gerbais*, a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, *De Cauſis Majoribus*, which were equally contrary both to Church and State, to the Canons, and the Concordate, by which the *Pope*, upon a ſimple Complaint, without any Appeal, did by the plenitude of his Power judge at *Rome* concerning the validity of Elections, and the Authority of *Arch-Biſhops* and *Primates*, &c. The iſſue of this Aſſembly was, They aſſerted the Authority of National Churches, for judging all matters both of Faith and Manners; and in the concluſion agreed to make an Addreſs to the King, praying him to give leave either for a National Counſel, or an Aſſembly General, the later of which was conſented unto by his Majeſty, and ſummoned to meet the firſt of *October* following, which met accordingly, and at the opening thereof, the Biſhop of *Meaux* preached a moſt eloquent Sermon with much Applauſe; after which, the point

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of the *Regale* was put to the Queſtion, and argued learnedly on both ſides, and in concluſion, the greateſt part were of opinion, that the Rights unto the *Regale* were inherent in the Crown, and that the pretenſions thereunto were Uſurpations by the Church, as appears by this following Declaration.

The Declaration of the Clergy of the Gallican Church concerning Eccleſiaſtical Power.

WE *the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, Repreſentatives of the* Gallican Church, *being by Command of His Majeſty Aſſembled at* Paris, *together with others of the Clergy, in the ſame manner delegated with us, after long Debate, and mature Conſideration, have thought fit to declare and determine theſe ſeveral particulars following:*

I. *That a Power is given by* God *to St.* Peter, *and his Succeſſors, who are the Vicars of* Chriſt, *and to the Church to Order and Regulate all Spiritual Matters, but not to intermeddle in Civil or Temporal matters, according to that Saying of our Lord,* My Kingdom is not of this World. *And again,* Give unto *Cæſar* the things which are *Cæſars,* and unto God the things that are Gods. *And Agreeable hereunto is that of the Apoſtle,* Let every Soul be Subject to the Higher Powers, for there is no Power but of God; the Powers which are, are ordained of God; and whoſoever reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God. *Wherefore Kings and Princes by the Law of God are not liable in temporal matters to the Eccleſiaſtical Power, nor by the Power of the Keys can they be depoſed, either directly or indirectly; or can their Subjects be abſolved from their Fealty and Obedience to them, or from their Oaths of Allegiance, the which We confirm and determine, as Principles not only neceſſary for conſervation of the Publick Peace and Tranquility, but for the better Government of the Church, and as Truths agreeable to the Word of God, the Tradition of the Fathers, and to the Example and Practice of Saints and Holy Men.*

II. *That the Apoſtolical* See, *and the Succeſſors of St.* Peter, *who are the Vicars of Chriſt, have a full and plenary Power, in all Spiritual matters, in ſuch manner as is given to them by the Oecumenical Synod of* Conſtance, *which is received by the Apoſtolical* See, *and in ſuch manner as hath been confirmed by the conſtant uſe and practice of the Popes of* Rome, *and the whole Church, and obſerved by the Religion of the Gallican Church, and Decreed by the Authority of the* General

General Councils, *in the Fourth and Fifth Seſſions: And the* Gallican Church *doth condemn the Opinion of thoſe, who eſteemed thoſe Decrees of doubtful Authority, and do endeavour to reſtrain their Obligations only to a certain time of Schiſm, and to invalidate the preſent Power thereof.*

III. *Hence it is that the third exerciſe of the Apoſtolical Power is to be regulated by Canons eſtabliſhed by the Spirit of God, and thereunto all the World is to bear Reſpect and Reverence; likewiſe the Rules, Manners, and Inſtitutions received by the Kingdom, and Church of* France, *as alſo the Cuſtoms of our Fore-fathers are to remain unalterable; the which is a clear Demonſtratian of the greatneſs of the Apoſtolical* See, *that the Statutes and Ordinances thereof are eſtabliſhed and confirmed by and with the conſent of the* Churches.

IV. *In Queſtions of Faith the Pope is chief Judge, and his Decrees extend themſelves to the* Churches *in general, and to every one in particular; nor can his Judgment be repealed, unleſs by the conſent and determination of the* Univerſal Church.

V. *Theſe Particulars received from the Doctrin of our Fore-fathers, we have by the Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, Decreed to ſend unto all the* Gallican Churches, *and the Biſhops reſiding over them; and we do all concur in the ſame Senſe and Meaning of them.*

Subſcribed by Archbiſhops and Biſhops and Clergy, as before related, and Regiſtred as required by the Kings Attorney General, *March* 23. 168½.

The French King uſed all means to gain this point of the *Pope*; and thinking that the very bruit of any part of his Army marching into *Italy*, might have a conſiderable Influence, he ſent a Proteſtant General, Marſhal *Schomberg*, with an Army into *Italy*, and the Fourth of *October*, 1681. he entred *Cazal*. The pretence was, That the French King had bought that place of one of the Duke of *Mantua*'s Miniſters for three Millions, which the Duke diſown'd, as done without his privity, and would not receive the Mony; and the *Pope* and all *Italy* by fortifying this place, and ſeveral other apparent Deſigns of the French King, were frequently Alarm'd, ſo that in 1687. his Holineſs durſt not ſend his Gallies to aſſiſt the *Venetians*, but was put to the charge of raiſing Forces for his Security.

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The King cauſed the Declaration of the Clergy, and his Edict for confirming it to be regiſtred both in the Chamber of Accounts in *France*, and in the *Sorbonne*, without the Doctors Aſſent, who ſhew'd their reſentment of it; and therefore the Parliament of *Paris* ſummoned twelve of the Doctors before them, and gave them a ſharp Reprimand; and in *June*, 1682. the King commanded ſeveral of the Doctors of the *Sorbonne* to leave the Society, and repair to certain places diſtant which he appointed: He alſo ſent ſeveral of the Clergy to the *Baſtile*, who had ſpoke or wrote freely on this occaſion.

The *Pope* was not idle in the mean time. In *January* 1681. he did by ſeveral Briefs require the Jeſuits to expel Father *Maimburg*, a French Jeſuit, out of their Society, for having wrote a Book offenſive to his Holineſs, but the King took him into his protection. In *April* 1682. He ſent a Decree to the *Carmelites* at *Paris* to ſuſpend one of their Members for publiſhing certain *Theſes* Offenſive to the Court of *Rome*, which they performed; but the Parliament of *Paris* commanded the Prior to take off the Suſpenſion, and forbad all the Religious Orders to execute any Mandates, Letters, orOrders which did not concern the internal Ordinary Diſcipline of their Convents. The Aſſembly at *Paris* wrote to the Pope the third of *February* 1682. in unpleaſing Terms touching the *Regalia*. And the Pope by his Brief of *April* the *6th.* 1682. directed to his Venerable Brethren, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *&c.* aſſembled at *Paris*, check'd them for their Letter, and argued his Cauſe in anſwer to theirs, and reproved them for departing from their Rights; and laſtly, reſcinded and annull'd what had been done in their Aſſembly in the Affair of the *Regale*; and withal excommunicated the Archbiſhop of *Tholouſe*.

The Clergy of *France* before this Brief was made publick to them, *May* the *6th.* made their Proteſtation againſt ſeveral Letters that the Pope had wrote into *France* to the Biſhop of *Pamiers*, *&c.* and againſt all Acts done thereupon; and were conſidering of ordaining, that no Appeals ſhould be made to *Rome*, and of ſetting up a Patriarch of their own.

Hereupon the *Pope* ſent a Bull of Excommunication of the Deputies of the Clergy of *France*, to be publiſhed in their Aſſembly; which the King having notice of, ſtopt their meeting, and a little after commanded them to repair to their ſeveral Charges; and on the Doctors of the *Sorbonne*'s Petition to the Parliament, they are reſtor'd, and order'd to give their Opinion on the Propoſitions of the Clergy, wherein they ſpent much time, even to *May* 1683. and ſtill continued divided in their Opinions.

Cardinal *D'Eſtree* had ſpent his time in vain at *Rome*, prevailing nothing upon the Pope. In the Aſſembly, before they ſeparated, the Archbiſhop of *Paris* offered ſeveral Propoſals to accommodate the matter between the Pope and his Eldeſt Son, which with many other things were debated upon.

1. That thoſe to whom the King in right of his *Regalia* ſhall give any Eccleſtical Benifices, ſhall in the Vacancy of the *Sees* have Approbation and Miſſion from the Vicars General.

2. That the Chapters that are in poſſeſſion of beſtowing Prebends and other Dignities, ſhall as formerly diſpoſe of them in the Vacancy of the *See*.

3. That in thoſe Vacancies where the Collation is alternative, between Biſhops and the Chapters, the ſame ſhall be obſerved during the Vacancies of the Sees that are under the Regality, the King having the turn which the Biſhops ſhould have had.

4. That where the Biſhop, joyntly with the Chapter, diſpoſes of the Prebends, the King may in the Vacancy of the *See* appoint a Commiſſioner, who ſhall have the ſame power and place in the Chapter as the Biſhop had.

In *January* 1682. The French King order'd the Sieur *Prior* to viſit the Monaſteries, *&c.* where any Divinity Schools are kept, and to require the Profeſſors to teach the Propoſitions of the Clergy in their Aſſemblies; ſeveral Books alſo were ſeized in *France*, which aſſerted the *Popes* Authority; and divers Eccleſiaſticks and others ſuſpected to be concerned therein, were impriſoned thereupon, and the Abbot of *Menard* was committed to the *Baſtile* for holding correſpondence with ſome perſons at *Rome*.

After this the French Kings Superintendant forbad the Profeſſors of Divinity at *Doway* to teach or exerciſe their Functions, becauſe they had refus'd to ſubſcribe the Propoſitions of the Clergy, which ſo diſſatisfied the *Pope*, that the *Bulls* for confirmation of ſeveral Perſons nominated by the King to Vacancies, were not diſpatched, tho they were ſuch as the Pope had no pretence againſt; and as to the Abbot of *Maupeau*, whom the King had named to be Biſhop of *Caſtres*, he abſolutely refus'd his *Bull*, becauſe he had ſigned the Declaration of the Clergy.

The *Pope* ſent to divers Princes, deſiring them to cauſe their Clergy to aſſemble, and to conſider of, and give their Opinions touching the French Clergy's Propoſitions. Thoſe of *Poland* and part of *Hungary* met and condemned them.

And thus the *Pope*'s Thunder having frighted the Clergy, the Aſſembly was diſſolved, and theſe high Conteſts began to cool: Nevertheleſs, both Parties held their own pretences, neither yielding to the other; but while the two Heads ſtrive, many Churches remain vacant, and that notwithſtanding the cry and pretence that a vaſt number of new Converts ſtood in need of Inſtruction, to be confirmed in their pretended Orthodox Belief.

And here I ſhall leave off this Affair, untill the buſineſs of the Franchiſes comes together with it to be treated on, having proceeded further than I ought to have done, becauſe I was willing to continue the Relation of this Affair with as little interruption by other matters as was poſſible.

1681. The Colledge of Cardinals being diminiſhed to twenty ſix and thoſe in being many of them very Aged, the *Pope* reſolved to create ſixteen new ones, and reſerve the other Ten, either to gratifie Princes, or pleaſe himſelf as he ſhould afterwards ſee neceſſary occaſion, though he was backward to encreaſe the Number, but rather leſſen them,

them, looking on many to be a burthen to the Church: And this was his firſt Creation, tho many empty Pallaces in *Rome* craved Inhabitants; and herein he ſhewed he would not fawn upon, or flatter the French King, by raiſing any of his Kingdom to that Dignity, but choſe *Italians*, whoſe Names are as follow:

1. *John Baptiſta Spinola* a *Genoeſe*, aged Sixty Seven, Governor of *Rome*, and Secretary of the Congregation of Regulars.
2. *Anthony Pignatelli* a *Neapolitan*, Sixty Six years of Age, Biſhop of *Lecca* and Maſter of the Popes Chamber.
3. *Stephen Brancaccio* a *Neapolitan*, aged Sixty Four.
4. *Stephen Agoſtini*, Archbiſhop of *Heraclea*, aged Sixty Five.
5. *Francis Bonvici* of *Lucca*, Archbiſhop of *Theſſalonica*, aged Sixty Three.
6. *Savo Mellini*, a Roman, Archbiſhop of *Ceſarea*, aged Thirty Seven years.
7. *Frederick Viſconti* of *Milan*, aged Sixty Three, Archbiſhop of *Milan*
8. *Marco Gallio* of *Como*, Biſhop of *Rimini*, aged Sixty Nine.
9. *Flaminio del Tayo*, of *Siena*, aged Eighty years.
10. *Raymond Capizucci* a *Roman*, aged Sixty Nine.
11. *John Baptiſta de Luca* a *Neapolitan*, aged Sixty Four.
12. *Laurentio Brancati*, of *Laurea* in *Calabria*, aged Sixty Four years, Library-keeper of the *Vatican*.
13. *Urbano Lachetti* of *Florence*, aged Forty Four, Auditor of the Apoſtolical Chamber.
14. *John Franciſco Ginetti* a Roman, aged Sixty years, Treaſurer of the Chamber.
15. *Benedict Pamphilio*, aged Twenty Eight, Grand Prior of *Rome*.
16. *Michael Angelo Ricci*, aged Sixty five years.

All theſe took their Promotions patiently, and without much reluctancy, only *Tayo* and *Ricci* were hardly brought to it.

The Pope being ſenſible that the Cheat of Indulgences was apparent to many of the common People, and the firſt thing *Luther* made uſe of to encline great numbers to proteſt againſt the Encroachments and Superſtitions of the Roman Church; and alſo how ridiculous they are eſteem'd by Proteſtants, and ſcandalouſly made uſe of by their own Prieſts, eſpecially in remote Countries; and particularly diſliking that Indulgence of the Immaculate Conception, (a Controverſie among the *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans*) thought it the beſt way in Reforming his own Church, to begin with ſuch things as the Reformers juſtly took offence at, and therefore ſuppreſſed divers of them.

In the firſt place, *The Office of the Immaculate Conception of the Bleſſed Virgin*, approved by *Paul* the Firſt, who granted, *That whoſoever ſhould devoutly recite the ſame, ſhould have an hundred days Indulgence*, as may appear by his Bull of *July* the 10*th*. 1615. printed at *Milan*. The Pope therefore now Decreed, *That no Perſon, of what Order, Degree or Condition ſoever, ſhould dare to keep, read, print, or cauſe to be printed the ſaid*

Book; and requiring that whosoever should have the said Office in his keeping, should forthwith deliver the same to the Ordinary, or to the Inquisitors of the place; which Decree was published *Febr.* 9. 1678.

Then he set upon others, and suppressed a multitude of idle and foolish Indulgencies, which many cheating Priests raised Mony upon, from the ignorant People; of which kind were those Indulgencies granted by *John* the Second, *Sixtus* the Fourth, to those who should recite the Prayer of Charity of our Lord *Jesus Christ*; by *Eugenius* the Third, to the Revelation made to St. *Bernard*, of a blow on the Shoulder of our Lord Jesus Christ.

By *John* the Twenty Second to those who kiss the measure of the Soal of the Foot of the Blessed Virgin.

By *Leo* the Tenth, to those who wear the Cord of St. *Francis*, printed first at *Rome*, then at *Milan*, 1665. To them that shall say the Angelical Prayer (when the Clock strikes) to the Image of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin *Mary*, printed in a Circle, with the Moon under her feet.

By *Paul* the Fifth, and *Gregory* the Fifteenth, to those who say, *Blessed be the Holy Sacrament.*

Likewise those Indulgences for fourscore thousand years, copied out of the Ancient Table, which is said to be kept in the *Lateran* Church, to those who say this truly pious Prayer, *O God, who for the Redemption of the World*, &c.

He also suppressed many others, and declared, *That though according to the Doctrin of the Council of* Trent, *the use of Indulgencies may be useful to the People, and doth Anathematise such as shall deny, that there is not a Power in the Church to grant them, yet he is desirous that the Doctrin thereof be rightly understood, and a Moderation used in granting them, lest by too great facility or easiness, the Discipline of the Church be corrupted and enfeebled.*

It was indeed one of the main businesses that the Council of *Trent* should have handled, that and the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in both Kinds, being two principal matters then contested in the German Churches; but that Council's Inspiration being brough from *Rome* in a Cloak-bag, the Spirit of the Papacy would not allow it; and withal they could not but see that this Doctrin was not solid, and would not hold water; therefore they slightly touched thereon, and nothing was determined in it, than only, *That Indulgences be used with such moderation, as was approved by the ancient Custom of the Church of God.*

As this Pope endeavour'd to remove all *Remora's* of Justice that might hinder the due execution thereof, in suppressing the pretended and long abused Priviledges of the Franchises; and (to take away those Temptations and seeming Encouragements to Vice, which had been given by licensing of Stews) had suppressed those places, and expell'd both Strumpets and other debauch'd Persons out of the City; and also had appointed such Magistrates for the due execution of Justice, that

Rome

Rome was become very regular, and no publick Vice or Diſorders to be ſeen or heard therein; ſo conſidering that Men of evil Principles might yet act ſuch things which no poſitive Law in being could reach: That he might (at leaſt in ſome meaſure) eradicate ſome of thoſe Poſitions and Doctrins in Morality, which had by the ſubtil diſtinction of the Caſuiſts and Jeſuits been ſcattered and maintained in ſeveral of their Writings, tending to the Debauchery of Manners, and to the Encouragement of a looſe and diſſolute Life: He eſpecially deputed certain Cardinals to be the general Inquiſitors: And having gather'd out of ſeveral Writings divers Doctrins which appear'd to be pernicious in practice, and ſcandalous to the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, frequently and exactly diſcuſs'd before his Holineſs; on mature Conſideration, it was on the Second of *March*, 1679. appointed and decreed, That the following Propoſitions, and every one of them, ſhall be damn'd and prohibited; not intending by this Decree to approve other Propoſitions of the like Nature not here expreſſed.

1. That it is not unlawful in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments to adhere to a probable opinion touching the Validity of the Sacraments, rather than one that is more ſafe, unleſs ſome Law or Agreement, or the hazard of ſome grievous damage to be ſuſtained thereby may prohibit it.

Hence it appears, That an Opinion only probable is not to be follow'd in conferring Baptiſm, or Eccleſiaſtical Orders.

2. That a Judge may give Sentence according to an Opinion leſs probable.

3. When we do any thing, relying upon its probability, whether it be intrinſical, that is, *grounded on reaſon*; or extrinſical, *viz. grounded on Authority*, be it never ſo little, ſo we do not go beyond the bounds of probability, *viz. to that which is apparently falſe*, we act always prudently.

4. That an Infidel that will not believe, led by an Opinion leſs probable, ſhall be excuſed from his Infidelity.

5. That a Man is not to be condemned of Mortal Sin, that never had any act of Love to God, but one alone, in his whole Life.

6. That it is probable that the Command of loving God doth not of it ſelf oblige, no not every fifth year rigorouſly.

7. Its only obliging to us when we muſt of neceſſity put our ſelves into a ſtate of Juſtification, and have no other way by which we can be juſtify'd

8. It is not a ſin to eat and drink for pleaſure, even to Satiety, if it be not prejudicial to our Health; for the natural Appetite may enjoy lawfully its proper Acts.

9. The uſe of Marriage for pleaſure alone is free of all fault, even of a venial failure.

10. We are not oblig'd to love our Neighbour by an internal and formal Act.

11. By external Acts only we may ſatisfie the Command of loving our Neighbour.

12. Secular Perſons (tho Kings) can hardly be ſaid to abound; ſo that if

if one is only bound to give out of their abundance, there is ſcarcely any one obliged to give Alms.

13. Without mortal Sin one may be troubled for the Life of another, ſo it be done with moderation; and one may rejoyce at his natural Death, and wiſh and deſire it with inefficacious deſires, if it be not out of diſlike of his Perſon, but for ſome worldly advantage that may accrue thereby.

14. It is lawful abſolutely to deſire the Death of ones Father, ſo it be not deſir'd for his hurt, but for the good of him that wiſheth it, that he may have thereby poſſeſſion of a good Inheritance.

15. A Son may lawfully rejoyce for the Murder of his Father, tho committed by himſelf, if he were drunk when he perpetrated it, in reſpect of the increaſe of his Wealth by gaining his Inheritance.

16. Faith doth not ſeem to be under any particular or abſolute command.

17. One act of Faith is ſufficient for ones whole Life.

18. Upon examination before a Magiſtrate, I adviſe the party ingenuouſly to confeſs the Faith, both for the Glory of God and that; but I do not condemn ſilence as ſinful in it ſelf.

19. It is not in the power of the Will to make the Aſſent to Faith more firm in it ſelf, than the ſtrength of Reaſons which inforce its aſſent, doth require.

20. A Man may with prudence reject a Supernatural Aſſent which he had formerly.

21. An Aſſent of Faith that is ſupernatural and available for Salvation, may conſiſt with a probable knowledg only of Revelation; nay, with a fear that God hath not ſpoken it.

22. The Faith of one God ſeems requiſite alone by an indiſpenſible neceſſity, but the explicit belief that God is a Rewarder, doth not appear neceſſary.

23. Faith in a large ſenſe, only from the teſtimony and evidence of the Creation, or ſome ſuch like motive, is ſufficient for Juſtification.

24. To call God to witneſs a Lie in a light matter, is ſo great a diſhonour or irreverence to him, as that therefore he will, or can condemn one for it.

25. Whether it be about a ſmall or great matter, if a man have cauſe for it, he may lawfully take an Oath, without any intention of ſwearing.

26. If any one, either alone, or before others, either when he is asked, or of his own accord, or for his diverſion, or any other end, ſhall ſwear that he did not do a thing, which he really did, reſerving a meaning to himſelf, either of ſome other thing which he did not do, or of doing it another way, or by adding any other Truth to it; in this caſe he is indeed neither a Lyar nor perjur'd.

27. A ſecret meaning may be uſed juſtly as oft as it is neceſſary or profitable for preſervation of Life or Honour, or ſaving ones goods, or for any other Act of Vertue, ſo that the concealment of Truth ſeems in that caſe to be expedient or deſirable.

28. One that is promoted to be a Magiſtrate, or to ſome Office, either by recommendation or bribery, may with a mental reſervation take the Oath required in ſuch caſes, not regarding the intention of him that exacts it, becauſe the Party is not bound to confeſs himſelf guilty of a Crime that is ſecret.

29. Great and urgent fear is a juſt cauſe of diſſembling in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

30. A Perſon of Honour may lawfully kill a Man that deſigns to calumniate him, if he cannot otherwiſe avoid the reproach; the ſame may be ſaid, if one give another a Box on the Ear, or ſtrikes him with a Cudgel, and when he hath done ſo, runs away.

31. For the ſaving the value of a Crown, I may regularly kill a Thief.

32. We may not only lawfully defend Goods in our Poſſeſſion by killing ſuch as would take them, but alſo ſuch things to which we have only a right begun or imperfect, and which we have hopes to poſſeſs hereafter.

33. An Heir or Legatee may defend himſelf againſt him that unjuſtly hinders him to take Poſſeſſion of his Inheritance, or from receiving his Legacy, by the ſame means a Profeſſor or Prebend may uſe againſt one that hinders them from their poſſeſſion.

34. It is lawful to endeavour or procure an Abortion before the Infant is quickned, to hinder the Womans being kill'd or defam'd, by the diſcovery of the Womans being with Child.

35. All Conceptions as long as they are in the Womb, its probable are without a reaſonable Soul, and when they are born begin to have one, and then it follows in any Abortion there is no Murder committed.

36. Its not only lawful in extream, but alſo in great and heavy neceſſity to ſteal.

37. If a Servant of either Sex have not a Salary anſwerable to their ſervice, it is lawful to ſteal from their Maſters to the value of their ſervices.

38. It is not mortal Sin not to reſtore that which one ſtole by many Thefts, how great ſoever the Total may be.

39. He that perſwades another to do a miſchievous thing to a third Perſon, is not bound to make up the damage which is thereby ſuſtained.

40. The Contract of *Mohatra* is lawful, tho made with the ſame Perſon, and with the refelling the ſame thing, before agreed on, with an intention of gain.

41. Since Mony laid down in preſent is more eſteemed than Mony remaining due yet unpaid, and all Men value it more than that they look for hereafter, a Lender may require more than his Stock from him that borrows, and be hereby excuſed from Uſury.

42. It is not Uſury when ſomething above the Principal is requir'd as due by way of Benevolence and Gratitude; but 'tis only ſo when exacted as due of right.

43. Why may it not be accounted only a Venial Sin in any one, to charge a Man with a falſe Crime, thereby to leſſen his great Authority, which is prejudicial to himſelf?

44. Pro-

44. Probably it is not a Mortal Sin, to fix a falſe Crime on another in defence of our own Honour and Juſtice; and if this be not probable, there is ſcarce any Opinion in Divinity ſo.

45. To give a temporal thing for a ſpiritual, is not Simony, when it is not given as the price, but only as a motive for beſtowing or doing the ſpiritual thing; or when the temporal is only a gratuitous recompence for the ſpiritual, or that the ſpiritual be a compenſation for the temporal.

46. And this alſo takes place, altho the temporal thing be the principal motive for giving the ſpiritual; nay, altho it be the end of the very ſpiritual thing, and be higher eſteem'd than the ſpiritual.

47. When the Council of *Trent* doth ſay, *That they partake in other mens ſins, and are guilty of mortal ſin, who do not prefer to Churches thoſe whom they ſhall judge to be more worthy, or more uſeful to the Church*; the Council either firſt of all by *more worthy*, ſeems to mean nothing elſe but the *worthineſs* of thoſe that are to be choſen, the Comparative Degree being put for the Poſitive. Or Secondly, it puts down *more worthy* improperly, that it may exclude the unworthy, but not ſuch as are worthy. Or 3*ly*. It means the *more worthy* ſhould be choſen, when there is a competition.

48. It ſeems ſo plain, that Fornication has nothing of evil in it ſelf, and is only evil, becauſe it is forbidden to think otherwiſe, is contrary to reaſon.

49. Voluntary Pollution is not prohibited by the Law of Nature, from whence it follows, That if God had not forbidden it, it might have been often good, and ſometimes obligatory under the pain of mortal ſin.

50. Copulation with a marrried Woman, her Husband conſenting, is not Adultery; and therefore in this caſe it may ſuffice a man to ſay in Confeſſion, that he has been guilty of Fornication.

51. A Servant who knowingly helps his Maſter upon his Shoulders to get in at a Window to deflowr a Virgin, and does many times ſerve him that way, by bringing a Ladder, opening a Door, or any thing like this, does not ſin mortally, provided it be done for fear of ſome conſiderable prejudice may otherwiſe happen to him, as, leſt he ſhould be ill uſed by his Maſter, ill look'd upon or turn'd out of doors.

52. Setting aſide the Scandal, the precept for obſerving the Feſtivals, does not oblige under the pain of mortal ſin, provided there be no contempt.

53. That Perſon ſatisfies the command of the Church, in hearing Maſs, that hears two, yea, even four parts of it from divers Prieſts that celebrate.

54. He that cannot recite his Matines and Lauds, but can ſay the reſt of his Hours, is bound to nothing, *i.e.* is excuſable, becauſe the greater part draws the leſſer along with it.

55. The Precept of receiving the Sacrament yearly, is ſatisfied by a ſacrilegious eating our Lords Body.

56. Frequent Confeſſion and Communion, even in ſuch as live like Heathens, is a ſign of Predeſtination.

57. Its probable that natural Attrition is ſufficient, provided it be honeſt.

58. We are not obliged to confeſs the cuſtom of any ſin to a Confeſſor that asks it.

59. 'Tis lawful Sacramentally to absolve those that by reason of a great Crowd of Penitents have made but half Confession; for instance, this may happen on some great Festival-Day or time of Indulgence.

60. Absolution is neither to be denied, nor deferr'd, to a Penitent, that has got a custom of sinning against the Law of God, of Nature, or the Church, though there appear no hope of his Amendment; if he does but say, he is Sorry, and purposes Amendment.

61. He that is Conversant in the nearest occasions of Sin, which he can, and will not avoid, but directly and purposely seeks and thrusts himself into them, may sometimes be absolv'd.

62. The nearest occasion of Sin is not to be avoided, when some profitable or honest cause, for our not avoiding it, does occur.

63. It is lawful to seek directly the nearest occasion of Sinning, for the Spiritual or Temporal good, either of our Selves or Neighbours.

64. A Man is capable of Absolution, however ignorant he may be of the Misteries of Faith, and though, by negligence that deserves blame, he does not know the Mistery of the Holy Trinity, and of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

65. It may suffice to have once believed these Misteries.

At the end of these Propositions, was a Declaration, That whosoever should defend, publish, or treat of them, though by way of Dispute, except it were to confute them, should *ipso facto* stand Excommunicated, and never receive Absolution, (unless in the hour of Death) but from the Pope himself for the time being.

There was also a strict Prohibition to all faithful Christians, in vertue of their holy Obedience to the Apostolical See, and under the pains of the Judgments of God, to forbear reducing any of these Opinions into practice.

And lastly, All Doctors and Schoolmen were commanded to abstain from censuring or reproaching one another in Controverted Points, which are not here determined, and to wait peaceably for the Judgment of the Holy See about them.

It was observ'd his Holiness was very favourable in the Character that he gave of these Impious and Immoral Tenets, calling them, *Ad minus scandalosas & in praxi pernitiosas*, at least Scandalous and Pernicious in Practice; not charging them with any sinfulness in themselves, as contrary to the Laws of God and Nature, for the Title prefixt to the *Decree* for condemning these Propositions runs thus:

The Decree of our most holy Lord Innocent *the* XI. *by Divine Providence* Pope, *by which he hath condemned* 65 *Propositions of Casuists, as at least scandalous and pernicious in practice, and hath forbidden the defending and publishing of them by any one under the pain of Excommunication*, ipso facto, *and that to be reserved to the Holy Apostolical See.*

This Decree was publisht at *Rome* in the usual places, on the 4th of *March*, 1679. by *Francis Perin* Cursor to the Pope and Court of Inquisition.

In *December* 1682. an Imperial *Envoy* arrived at *Rome*, to give the Pope an account, that the Turks were making very great preparations for a War in

Hungary; the Pope very readily gave assurance of his Assistance both against the *Turks* and Count *Teckeley*, who had been some time in Arms in *Upper-Hungary*; and *January* the 8th a Congregation was held to consider of the best way to give assistance to the Emperor, and resolved, That the Tenths of all Ecclesiastical Benefices in *Italy* and *Spain*, and where the Popes Power is acknowledged, (except in *France*) shall be employed for carrying on this War; and in the mean time for present Occasion, remitted 200000 Crowns to the Emperor at *Vienna*.

He also wrote to the French King to agree the Differences with his Neighbours, and assist against the *Turks*; and the French King's Envoy at *Vienna* declared his Master desired a lasting Peace between him and the Emperor, and that he would be ready to assist with his Forces against the *Turks*: But at the same time a Domestick of the Envoy's was found to have Correspondence with Count *Teckeley*, and secur'd; the French Troops had about a year before forced in upon the Magistrates, and seiz'd *Strasburgh*, which he refused to re-deliver. And the French King both now and for some time after so alarm'd the German Princes, that they could not assist the Emperor, promoting in many ways the *Turks* Invasion of the Empire, and assisting *Teckeley* with Money; This last the Pope charged him with, and urged it as one ground for his displeasure, when the Disputes were about the *Regale*, which suspicion the King endeavoured to remove, though with little satisfaction to the Pope.

And since it will be my part to give an account of the large Assistances the Pope gave both to the Emperor, the King of *Poland*, and the *Venetians*, in carrying on the War, it will not be impertinent to give yearly a short account of the Success that ensued thereupon.

The *Turk* published his Declaration of War against the Emperor, containing many Blasphemous Reproaches of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which in the Consequence was the occasion of his own Deposing, though by his own Soldiers.

May the 8th, 1683, his Holiness had an account, that according to his desire, the King of *Poland* had entred into League with the Emperor, for assisting in the War, which was to be Sworn to by each of their Cardinal Protectors at *Rome*; for every Prince and State (that own the Pope for their Head) hath a Cardinal at *Rome*, (who joyns with his Ambassador, if there be any residing there, or else alone) to take care of the Affairs of that Country at *Rome*, and is call'd the Protector of such a Realm or State, Cardinal *Pio* was for the *Empire*, and *Barbarin* for the King of *Poland*.

In *June* the Pope sent to the States of *Venice*, to perswade them to enter into the same League, with all the Encouragements he was able.

In the latter end of *July*, this year, the *Turks* besieged *Vienna*, much sooner than was expected, the Emperor, Court, and many Inhabitants speeded out of it, almost surprized; Count *Staremberg*, the Governor, made a very brave Defence, notwithstanding the many violent Assaults of the *Turks*, and before Relief came kill'd near 20000 of them; The Duke of *Lorraine* lay with the Emperor's Forces not far off, expecting the King of *Poland*, and other

Succors

Succors, to raiſe the Siege; the *Turks* therefore ſent a Body of 15000 *Turks* and *Tartars* againſt him, but he kept his Ground, killing many of them, and forcing the reſt to return to their Camp; General *Dunewald* poſſeſſed himſelf of a conſiderable Poſt on the Foreſt near *Vienna*, which if the *Turks* had been poſſeſſed of, it might have been difficult for the Chriſtian Armies to have joyn'd. *September* the 9th, the King of *Poland* with his Army, and and other Forces came, and the whole Chriſtian Army amounted to 64400 fighting Men. On the 12th of *September* they attack'd the *Turks* in their Camp, and in a ſhort time totally routed them, the Turkiſh Horſe fled, and there were about 25000 Foot kill'd in the Camp, their Baggage, two millions of Money, 60000 Tents, and vaſt Riches were taken; the Gariſon was brought to its laſt extremity, their Bombs being ſpent, many Cannons burſt, the *Turks* were lodg'd in their Ditches, ſo that the Shot from the Gariſon could not annoy them, and the Soldiers within were reduced, brought from 15000 to 5000, theſe ſallied out and aſſiſted at the Fight alſo. It was ſaid the *Turk* loſt during the Siege, and at the raiſing, 70000 Men. The Chriſtians Chiefs at this Battle were, the King of *Poland*, the Electors of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, the Duke of *Lorraine*, Prince *Waldeck*, two Princes of *Baden*, Prince *D'Anhalt*, Duke of *Croy*, Prince *de Salme*, Margrave of *Brandenburgh*, the Landgrave of *Heſs*, the Prince of *Hanover*, two Princes of *Newburg*, four Princes of the Houſe of *Saxony*, three Princes of *Wirtemberg*, the Prince of *Hohenzoller*, *&c.*

In *May*, this year, the Emperor ſent to the Pope to deſire to grant him the Tenths of the Eccleſiaſticks in the Hereditary Countries, and for leave to turn Church-Plate into Money towards carrying on the War againſt the *Turks*. The Pope for the preſent returned Anſwer, That he would ſee the War firſt begun: But in *Auguſt* following he called a Congregation, and it was reſolv'd that a Tax after the Rate of 6 *l. per Cent.* ſhould be laid on all the Eccleſiaſtical Revenue *per Annum* for 10 years in *Italy*, and that the Emperor might renew the Impoſition of One pound *per Centum* upon the Clergy in the Hereditary Countreys for the War. The King of *Spain* in Anſwer to the Popes Requeſt ſent One hundred and ſeventy thouſand Crowns to the Emperor on the ſame account.

In *November* the Pope having notice of the taking of *Gran* by the Duke of *Lorrain*, receiv'd it with Joy, and remitted Money to his Nuncio at *Linz* for the Emperors uſe, and ſent 30000 Crowns to the Vice-Roy of *Croatia*, to encourage and enable him to aſſiſt in the War. And being deſirous to have the War carried on effectually, he not only renew'd his Perſwaſions to the *Venetians* to enter into the League, offering them the Tenths of the Eccleſiaſticks within their Dominions for their aſſiſtance, but labour'd a Peace between *France*, and *Spain*, and the *Empire*, and was very much troubled he could not effect it then.

In *February* the *Venetians* entred into League for ſix years with the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *Poland*, to join in War againſt the *Turk*, and that no Truce or Peace ſhould be Treated of, or Concluded with the *Turks*, but by joint Conſent: By this the Pope engaged himſelf to pay the *Venetians*

50 thousand Crowns a month, and to maintain six Galleys at Sea during the War. The Pope hereupon borrowed 3 millions of Crowns of the States of *Genoua*.

This year died Cardinal *Cæsar Facheneti*, and also Cardinal Arch-Bishop of *Bologna*, whereby 21 places were vacant in the Colledge of Cardinals.

In *April* 1683, the Pope sent his Brief to *France*, wherein he consents, that the Revenues of the Abbies of St. *Denis* and St. *German* shall be employed towards the maintenance and for the use of the New-Converts in *France*.

The Dauphiness having been last year deliver'd of a Son, Created Duke of *Burgundy*, the Pope was desired to be Godfather, which he consented unto, and promised to send some Blest Clouts for the Child; but this was delay'd from time to time until *May* the 3d 1683, and then the Bishop of *Fano* was sent as Nuncio Extraordinary with the Present; When he landed, he was forbid to come to the Court on *Paris*, but ordered to stay at *Orleans* until the King returned from *Alsace*, which he did, so that it was the 22d of *July* before he could have private Audience of the King.

1684.

For the carrying on the War this year against the *Turks*, the Pope sent the King of *Poland* 300 thousand Crowns, and a considerable Sum to the *Cossacks*, to encourage them to join with the said King. To the Emperor he sent 100 thousand Crowns, and also granted the States of *Venice* the Tenths of all Ecclesiastical Revenues within their Dominions. And *June* the 5th the Popes Nuncio by his Order distributed 200 thousand Florins, the one half for such *Hungarians* as had forsaken Count *Teckeley*, the other half for a Field Hospital for sick and wounded Soldiers; He sent also his Galleys to assist the *Venetians* in the *Levant*.

August the 26th, the Venetian Ambassador gave the Pope an account, that they had this Summer taken the Island of *Sancta Maura*, and what Councils were agitated for further Designs; whereat the Pope much rejoyced, and told him, that his Galleys should Winter in some convenient Port in the *Adriatick*, to be ready to join theirs the sooner next year, but in the beginning of *December* they arrived at *Civita Vecchia*, not being able to Winter abroad without Recruits, having lost in this years Expedition 100 Soldiers, and 200 Seamen and Slaves. They took this year also *Preveza* from the *Turks*.

In *September* the Pope sent another Supply of Money to his Nuncio at *Vienna*, to be employed in the War, the Emperor having sent several times Auxilliaries to his Army that had besieged *Buda*, which was most vigorously defended by the Garison, notwithstanding the many Assaults and violent Attempts made by the Dukes of *Lorrain* and *Bavaria*, with the loss of many Men on both sides; They continued the Siege (although the Sarasquier with a potent Army of the *Turks* had attempted several times to raise it) until *November*, when (in regard of the Season of the year, loss of 12 or 14 thousand

thouſand Men, and near 8000 ſick and wounded, and the Seraſquier continuing ſo near the Camp as to hinder their Foraging, they were forced to raiſe it, and put the Foot in Boats on the *Danube*, while the Horſe ſtood in Battalia, leſt the Turks ſhould attempt them, and ſo carried off their Men and Artillery without the loſs of a Man. However the Emperors Forces in *Upper Hungary* made ſome progreſs by beating ſome ſmall Parties, and taking in ſome Fortreſſes.

The King of *Poland* appear'd with his Army in the Tartars Territories, but return'd without doing any thing conſiderable.

On a Letter from the French King to deſire it, the Pope granted a Diſpenſation for a Marriage between the Duke of *Savoy* and *Madamoiſelle*, and in *Auguſt* the Popes Nuncio had Audience of the ſame King touching the buſineſs of the *Regale*, and after preſented the King from the Pope with a Sable ſet with Diamonds and Pearl, and to the Queen a Roſe of Diamonds of great value, for he took all occaſions to be obliging and reſpective to the King, ſave wherein he thought the Rights of the Romiſh Church were concern'd, or his own Government, and therein he would never (notwithſtanding many applications) be brought to yield in the leaſt.

In *October* a certain Printer was taken out of the French Ambaſſadors Quarter, which he (as others) claimed as Franchiſes, exempt from the Popes Officers; of which the Ambaſſador complain'd, and declared he would not go to Court, until the Printer were reſtor'd to his liberty; nevertheleſs the Pope continued him in Priſon till he had ſufficiently ſuffer'd for his Offence.

In *December*, at the Requeſt of the Ambaſſador for the Republick of *Venice*, the Pope gave leave to that State to buy Corn in his Territories; ſo willing was the Pope to advance the War, for in yielding thereto, he loſt his Income that he ſhould have received, for ſo much as they bought, which was very conſiderable, as will better appear by the great Impoſition that lies upon all Corn that grows in St. *Peters* Patrimony, of which it cannot be impertinent to give this ſhort account;

Donna Olimpia, who rul'd the Church and State of *Rome*, during the greateſt part of the Pontificat of *Innocent* the Tenth, began this Tax or Impoſt on Corn, and all the Popes who have Reigned ſince, have found ſo great advantage by it, that it hath been ſtill continued; and it is at preſent a very conſiderable part of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenue. The Subſtance of the Law or Ordinance is this: *That no Perſon whatſoever is ſuffered to ſell Corn to any Strangers; but all thoſe that raiſe any, are obliged to ſell it at a price certain, to the Eccleſiaſtical Chamber*; which is not above one moiety of the real value; and then the *Chamber* ſells it again at double the price, and at a leſſer meaſure, ſo that what comes in at 5 Shillings, is ſold out at 12 Shillings: In the Popes *Dominions* there is no Perſon either in City or Country, who is permitted to make his own Bread, but every one is obliged to buy it of the Bakers, who are appointed by the *Chamber*; In each Village there is but one Baker eſtabliſht, in *Rome* and the great Cities are ſeveral; They are all obliged to buy a certain quantity of Corn of the *Eccleſiaſtical Chamber* for one

whole

whole year to come, which they pay for at the delivery of the Corn, at the Rate of ten Crowns the Salme or Measure, whereas the *Chamber* bought it in, of the Owners, for 5 Crowns the large measure; and although the Bakers may not have vended all, they were obliged to take in, the year before, yet must they take out the like quantity again, and return what they had spare, at 5 Crowns the Salme into the *Chamber*; And this brings in a very great yearly Incomb, but is a very great Oppression, both to the Occupiers of Lands, and so to the Landlords, and also to the Poor, who if they have Bread cheap, can make better shift to live upon the less of other Sustenance, and this in 33 years time, has been almost the ruine of the Ecclesiastical Estate, so that the Country is much unpeopled, and a great part of the Land lies uncultivated, because it is not worth while to manure it, and to raise Corn, when the Price will not answer the Cost and Rent of the Lands. It was moved to this Pope a little before he died, to release this Tax, he answer'd to this purpose, *That it would not be thankworthy for him to do it when he could not live to enjoy profit by its continuing, and therefore he would leave it for his Successor.*

October the 5th, Cardinal *Francesco Albizzi* died at *Rome* in the 92 year of his age, and two days after Cardinal *Basadonna* died, by which there were 23 Vacancies in the Colledge of Cardinals; and the Pope was moved to add more Cardinals to the Sacred Colledge, which he did not seem to deny, but disliked Persons propos'd to him for that Advancement; He was now very much indisposed in his Health, of which he was always very careful, so that upon the least indisposition he presently kept his Chamber, and sometimes his Bed; of this illness he soon recovered, but afterward fell very ill of the Gout, and kept his Bed 3 weeks.

In *December* the Pope wrote Letters both to the Emperor, King of *Poland*, and States of *Venice*, earnestly exhorting them to make good Preparations for the War against the Turk the year ensuing; and his Nuncio assured the Emperor, that the Pope was raising a great Fund to assist him and the other Princes in the War, in which (if there should be occasion) his Holiness would employ the Treasures of the Church; and the Pope gave Absolution to all such as should contribute to the carrying on the War.

In *January*, 1682, the King of *Spain*'s Ambassador at *Rome* was made Vice-Roy of *Naples*, and shortly after took upon him the Government, wherein he hath acted very honourably for the King, and worthily for the Subjects, and was belov'd and esteemed by all sorts of People; for in few years he redressed such Abuses that seem'd past cure, or at least required an Age to correct them; He repressed the Insolence of the *Spaniards* so much at *Naples*, that the Natives had no occasion to complain of the haughtiness of their Masters; for he proceeded against the *Spaniards* with no less severity, when they gave cause for it, than against the *Neopolitans*. He took the Pay of the Soldiers so immediately into his own Care, that they, who, before his coming, were half naked, and robb'd such as pass'd on the Streets of *Naples* in day-light, were afterwards exactly paid, well disciplin'd, and so decently cloathed, that it was a pleasure to see them: He examined their Musters also so exactly, that

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he was ſure never to be cheated by falſe Liſts. He brought the Markets and Weights of *Naples* to a true Exactneſs; and whereas the Bread was generally too light, he ſent for Loaves out of the Markets, and weighed them himſelf; and, by ſome ſevere Puniſhments on thoſe that ſold the Bread too light, he brought this matter to a juſt Regulation. He alſo retrieved the Reputation of the Courts of Judicature, that were before generally thought corrupt; and it is believed he had Spies to watch, in caſe the Trade of Bribes ſhould continue to go on. He fortified the Palace, which was, before his time, ſo much expoſed, that it would have been no hard thing to have made a deſcent upon it. But the two things that raiſed his Reputation moſt, were his extirpating of the *Banditi*, and the Regulation of the Coyn; it is well enough known, what a Plague the *Banditi* have been to the Kingdom, for, going in Troops, they not only robb'd the Country, but were able to reſiſt an ordinary Body of Soldiers, if they had ſet on them: Theſe travelled about ſeeking for Spoyl all the Summer long, but, in Winter, they were harbour'd by ſome of the *Neopolitan* Barons, who gave them Quarters; and thereby did not only protect their own Lands and Friends, but had them, as ſo many Inſtruments, ready to execute their Revenges on their Adverſaries, (a thing very grateful to the *Italians*:) This was well enough known at *Naples*, and there was a Council, that had the Care of reducing the *Banditi* committed to them, who, as they catched ſome few, and hanged them, ſo they fined ſuch Barons as gave them harbour, and it was believed that thoſe Fines amounted to near 150 thouſand Crowns a year; but ſtill the diſeaſe went on, only now and then a little Blood let, which never went to the bottom of the Diſtemper. But when this Viceroy entred upon the Government, he reſolved to extirpate all the *Banditi*, and he firſt let all the Barons underſtand, that if they harbour'd them any more, a little Fine would not ſave them, but that he would proceed againſt them with the utmoſt ſeverity; and by this means the *Banditi* could find no Winter-quarters; ſo they betook themſelves to ſome Faſtneſſes among the Hills, and reſolved to make good the Paſſes, and to accomodate themſelves the beſt they could amid'ſt the Mountains; the Viceroy ſent a great Body againſt them, but they defended themſelves, for ſome time, vigorouſly, and in one Sally kill'd 500 Men; but, at laſt, ſeeing themſelves to be hard preſs'd, and hearing that the Viceroy intended to come againſt them in Perſon, they accepted of the Terms that he offered them, which was a Pardon for what was paſt, both for Life nnd Gallies, and Six pence a day for their Entertainment in Priſon during Life, or the Viceroy's Pleaſure; and ſo they rendered themſelves: They were kept in a large Priſon, and now and then, as he ſaw cauſe for it, he ſent ſome few of them up and down to ſerve in Gariſons, and ſome went to ſerve the *Venetians* againſt the *Turks*, and did good Service. And thus was this Country quieted, and in entire Security, which, for many Ages, (notwithſtanding often vigorous Endeavours to ſuppreſs them,) had been continually infeſted with Robberies and Pillages, to the hazard, and frequent almoſt ruin of Travellers. As to the Coyn, it, as all other Spaniſh Money (being Square,) was ſo ſubject to Clipping, that the whole Money of *Naples* was become light, and far below the true value, which

which he reſolved to redreſs; he conſidered that the crying down of Money, that had paſſed on the publick Credit, would be a robbing of thoſe, in whoſe hands the Money happened to be when ſuch Proclamations were put out, and therefore took a Method, that was more general, in which every one would bear his ſhare, and no particular Perſon cruſhed more than other; he laid ſome Taxes on the whole Kingdom, and procured ſome to bring in Plate to be coyned; and when he had got ſuch a quantity, as might ſerve for a neceſſary Circulation, he call'd in the old Money, and gave out new of full weight, according to the Sums that he received of the old light Money, not reſpecting its weight or real Value.

This Year in *Sept.* the Pope receiv'd the welcome News, that he had ſucceeded in his endeavours for an Agreement, betwixt the Emperor, King of *Spain*, Princes of the *Empire* and the French King, whereby he had hopes the War againſt the Turk would be carried on the better; which did ſucceed accordingly.

He had alſo another pacifick work to do at this time, which he earneſtly laid his hands to, which was to compoſe the Breach between the French King and the States of *Genoua*, and ſince the Pope was concern'd in it, what he obtain'd will not well appear, unleſs there be a ſhort Narration of the concern in which he engaged himſelf.

In *May* the 17*th* this year, without any apparent diſcord, or demand of any thing, the French King ſent Men and Ships well provided, before *Genoua*, and after the uſual ſalutes of Friendſhip between the French Ships and the Fort, the States ſent ſix Deputies to complement the Admiral, and to know the occaſion of their being come thither, who anſwered, That their King was not well pleaſed with the conduct of the States, and that he required them to quit the Protection of *Spain*, and joyn four new Galleys they had built to the *French* Fleet, and allow the *French* to have a Magazine for Salt in *Genoua*, and to ſend four Senators on board their Admiral to ask their Kings Pardon, *&c.* Theſe demands (without any colour of right) did not a little ſurprize the Senators, but neceſſitated them to ſend in anſwer, that if they did not draw off, they ſhould give orders to their Fort to fire upon them, and after two hours expectation of their going off, when they did it not, the Fort by order of the Senate, firſt fir'd Powder only, and after with Ball, which was preſently return'd from 10 Galleys of the French (that continued in their Poſt) with ſhooting Bombs into the City day and night untill the 28th of *May*, and then they made a deſcent both on the Eaſt and Weſt ſide of the City; but being beaten back, they return'd to their Ships, with the loſs of 200 men ſlain, and 32 taken priſoners; and thus with their own coſt and damage, and no manner of advantage (more then damaging others) they went off to Sea; tho' at their departure they threaten'd a return. It was reckon'd that in this time they had often ſhot 130 Bombs in one Night, and in the whole 14000. of which about 2000 might break in the Air, and 4000 fall ſhort in the Sea; So that about 8000 might do Execution; the Dukes Palace was quite beaten down, and both he and the Senators forced to remove; It was accounted

that

that the City, within the outermoſt wall 25000 Houſes, whereof not leſs than 500 were broken down or ſpoil'd, tho' there was not above 120 perſons kill'd by the Bombs or fall of Houſes; ſome of theſe Bombs were ſhot two Miles, and weighed 150 Engliſh pound weight, and 57 pound weight of Charge.

The Pope made application in their behalf to the *French* King, and in the Truce lately made between that King and *Spain*, *Genoua* was comprehended, ſaving that the *French* King would reſerve liberty to procure ſatisfaction of the Republick of *Genoua*; and in *September* following the *French* Fleet came before it again, but the Sea proved then ſo boiſterous, that the Ships could not ride at Anchor, and were forced to put off to Sea, and afterwards they appear'd before it, but put off a ſecond time; the Senate ſent thereupon to deſire the Popes further Mediation in their behalf, which he willingly embrac'd, and ſent a Courier to his Nuntio in the *French* Court, to know what the King yet demanded; and in *October* he held a Congregation of Cardinals to Conſider of the affairs of *Genoua*; at which time the Courier return'd, with Letters to the Pope and the *French* Ambaſſador at *Rome*, purporting that the *French* King expected that the Senate ſhould ſend the Doge (*or Duke*) and four Senators to *France*, to ask the Kings Pardon. After ſeveral Meſſages, by the Popes mediation, (not without great reluctancy of the States of *Genoua*) an Agreement is made, and the 12th of *February* 1684. theſe Articles were ſigned, (*viz.*)

That the Doge and four Senators ſhall repair to ſome place in *France*, before the 10th of *April* next following, whence they ſhall continue their Journey to the place where the King is, and being admitted unto Audience in their Robes of Ceremony, the Doge ſhall in the name of the Republick, declare their great regret, for having diſpleas'd his Majeſty; and ſhall uſe ſuch other ſubmiſſive and reſpective Expreſſions, as may beſt manifeſt the ſincere deſire the Republick has to deſerve for the future his Majeſties kindneſs; That on their return to *Genoua* they ſhall re-enter on the exerciſe of their reſpective places and functions: That the Republick ſhall diſmiſs within a Month, the Spaniſh Troops which they have received into any of their places; and do by the preſent Treaty renounce all Leagues and Aſſociations made ſince the firſt of *January* 1683; That the Republick ſhall reduce their Galleys to the ſame Number they were three years agone, and ſhall diſarm thoſe they have fitted out ſince; That the Republick ſhall reſtore what can be found remaining of the effects taken from the French, and his Majeſty in lieu of other reparations for the loſſes ſuſtained by his Subjects, is content the *Genoueſes* ſhall give ſuch a ſum of Money, as the Pope ſhall think fit, for repairing Churches and Convents at *Genoua*, that were ruin'd or damnify'd by the Bombs, *&c.* That the Republick ſhall pay 100 thouſand Crowns to the Count *de Fiſque*, but without prejudicing the reaſons they have againſt the ſaid Count; and his Majeſty promiſes that he will not ſupport with his Arms, *&c.* the Pretention of the ſaid Count, but will leave them to be decided by the methods of Juſtice; the King will give the Doge and Senators ſuch favourable reception, as may ſatisfy them of the return

of his Royal kindneſs; and after they have perform'd the Function they were ſent for, they may return to *Genoua*; His Majeſty declaring that no other conditions or demands, ſhall be impoſed upon them, but ſuch as are agreed by this Treaty; all Acts of Hoſtility to ceaſe in a Month, and all Priſoners to be ſet at Liberty. In *April* 1685. the Doge and Senators came to *Paris*, according to the aboveſaid Articles.

1685.

March the 29th, the Popes Nuntio had Audience at the Dyet in *Poland*, wherein he did in the Popes name exhort them, to a vigorous proſecution of the War againſt the Turks, promiſing conſiderable ſupplys of Money from his Holineſs for that ſervice; and the Pope himſelf, aſſur'd Cardinal *Cibo*, that he would continue his aſſiſtance to the Emperour.

In *June* the Popes Galleys joyned the *Venetian* Fleet near *Corfu*, and about *Auguſt* they took *Coron* a very conſiderable place in the *Morea*; and in the end of the year the *Venetian* Envoy gave the Pope an account of the good ſucceſs that their Fleet and Army had this year had, in gaining ground of the Turks in the *Morea*, to his great ſatisfaction, and in *November* the Popes Galleys return'd home to *Civita Vecchia*, without any conſiderable detriment.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, with the Imperial Army went on proſperouſly in *Hungary*, and took the ſtrong Town of *Newheuſel* from the Turk, which had been (in a manner blockt up) near twelve months, and alſo obtained a very conſiderable Victory over the Turkiſh Army, who had beſieged the Imperial Gariſon of *Gran*, to make a diverſion. The King of *Poland* made a great appearance this year but did little, it was ſuppos'd the *French* Kings Money overweigh'd the Popes.

The Republick of *Venice*, named four perſons to the Pope, for his Holineſs to chooſe one out of them to fill the place of the Auditor of the *Rota*, vacant by the death of *Signior Palucci*, that place being always held by a *Venetian*.

In *September*, Cardinal *Paulo Savelli de Montalio* dyed at *Rome*, in the 63d year of his Age, and 20th of his Cardinalſhip; whereby there became 27 vacant places in the Colledge of Cardinals.

The Pope (to encourage brave undertakings againſt the Turk) advanced one *Dunſtar* an Engliſhman, to be Lieutenant of his Guards, as a reward for ſhewing his Valour lately at the ſiege of *Coron*, occaſion'd by a luſty Turk who came forth out of the Gariſon, brandiſhing his Scymiter, and (*Goliah* like) ſent a bold Challenge to the *Venetian* General, that he was there ready to fight any ſingle man of his whole Army; for ſeveral hours none durſt undertake the Combat, till it coming to the Ears of this *Dunſtar* (whoſe pay was but 6 *d.* a day) he acquainted his Captain, that he would embrace it, and being brought before the General *Moroſini*, he enquir'd of his name

name and Country, who told him that he was an Engliſhman, bred up near the *Bear-Garden* in *Southwark*; the General commended his reſolution, and ſo he went forth, with a good Backſword in his hand, and engaged the Turk, who with his Scymiter made a ſtroke to cut off *Dunſter*'s head, but he warded off the blow, and gave the Turk a cut on the Hamſtring, which enrag'd him greatly, and at a ſecond blow brought him down to the ground, and then cut off his head, ſearched his boſom (which the Turks uſe as a Pocket) and found 200 Chequins, and ſome Jewels, the Hilt of his Scymiter was ſet with precious Stones; the Conquerour bore them all off, and preſented them with the Turks head at his Generals feet, who only accepted the head, and gave him the reſt, with a reward ſuitable to his Merit, and afterwards his Captain preſented him to the Pope with a relation of his Exploit, upon which he was advanced as aforeſaid.

November the 21.st Things being a little quiet betwixt the Pope and *French* King, his Ambaſſador at laſt had Audience of his Holineſs, acquainting him that the King his Maſter had reſolv'd to refer to his Arbitrement (with the approbation of the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Orleans*) the pretenſions the Dutcheſs had, by the death of her late Brother the Elector Palatine) to certain Lands and the Moveables, for theſe the Dutcheſs claimed (as not belonging to her Brother, as Elector, but in his natural Capacity) and ſo to her after his deceaſe as neareſt ally'd; The Ambaſſador added that the chief motive that induc'd his Maſter thereunto, was to take all pretences from the Princes of the Empire of excuſing themſelves from aſſiſting againſt the Turks, and that for that reaſon his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would not do any thing that might diſturb the Peace of the Empire. The Pope ſhew'd all tokens of his favourable acceptance of this Declaration, which, if it had been real, would have been the greateſt ſatisfaction the *French* King could have given the Pope, but he too well knew the contrary, and that tho' he did not with his Arms at preſent moleſt the Empire, it was not out of good will, but while he prepar'd by building ſome new Forts, and fortifying others on or near the *Rhine*, for the better carrying on his work, when he thought it convenient for his purpoſe, which accordingly he did in 1688. by ſending forces into the Palatinate, and taking ſeveral places and harraſing the Country, *&c.* However the Pope ſent notice to the Emperour of the *French* Kings Declaration touching the Dutcheſs, *&c.*

And now preparations muſt be made for the next Campagne in *December*, therefore the Nuntio acquainted the Emperour that his Holineſs had remitted to him 400 thouſand Florins, to be employ'd for that purpoſe, and the Clergy of the Hereditary Countrys brought in their Contributions to the Popes Nuntio at *Vienna*; the Pope alſo ſent a brief for raiſing an extraordinary Contribution on the Clergy in *Spain*, and deſir'd his moſt Catholick Majeſty to aſſiſt the *Venetians* with his Galleys, which tho' he did not conſent unto, yet he ratified a Treaty the *Venetians* had made with the Governor of *Milan* for raiſing forces.

The Nuntio at *Poland* continued his applications to that King, aſſuring him to receive from the Pope 500 thouſand Florins, and to provide cloaths

for 6000 foot Soldiers, and Money towards a train of Artillery, and in *February* the King assur'd the Nuntio that he would be in the field before the end of *May* next, and command his Army in person; the Nuntio therefore employ'd 500 thousand Florins (which the Pope had remitted to him) in providing Magazines, *&c.* for the War, without putting it into the Kings Treasure, having for two years past, had experience that it never turn'd there to good account for the design it was intended; he sent also a considerable sum of Money for raising 12000 *Cossacks* to joyn the Polish Army.

General Count 1686. Conningsmark

In *May*, the Popes Forces were put on board his Galleys, and in *June* they joyn'd the *Venetian* Fleet, and directed their course to Old *Navarino* in the *Morea*, and soon became Masters of it, and then sate down before *New Navarino*, and having intelligence that the Serasquier of the *Morea*, was advancing towards them with 10000 Men and destroyed all the Country as he marched, General *Conningsmark*, leaving some Forces to maintain the Siege with 14000 men hasted to encounter him, and totally routed the *Turkish* Army, and return'd to the Siege, where the place was speedily surrendred to him, and having Garison'd both these considerable places, he set sail and made *Modon*, which was also surrendred unto him, and shortly after he obtained two considerable Victories over the *Turks* near *Napoli di Romania*. In *August* the Fleet blockt up 12 of the *Turks* Galleys, eight whereof they took, the other four escaping by Night; the Land Army also took in the Castles of *Argos* and *Termini*; and *August* the 29th *Napoli di Romania*, the chief City in the *Morea*, was surrendred unto the Generals *Morosini* and *Conningsmark*; and then the season of the year requiring it, the Auxilliaries return'd homeward, and the Popes Galleys arriv'd at *Civita Vecchia October* the 21th, his Troops much weakned by sickness, of whom the Pope took great care, and bestowed Medals on his Officers.

The Imperial Army set forward toward the Campagne this year in *May*; that part under the Duke of *Lorrain's* Command consisted of 55000, another under the Duke of *Bavaria* of 35000: The Muster-Rolls exactly taken in *June* in all parts of *Hungary* engag'd in the War, as well Field as Garison was,

Of *Imperialists* and *Hungarians*,	75230.
Of *Auxilliaries*,	28700.
Amounting in the whole to	103930.

The 17th of *June*, the Duke of *Lorrain* invested *Buda* in *Hungary* the second time; wherein was a very strong Garison being 12000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, with store of Ammunition and Provison, as expecting to be besieg'd, and having had time enough to provide, it being a year and half since the former siege was raised. In *August* the *Turks* came with a great Army

Army to raiſe the Siege, and when they came near, 8000 were ſent before to force their way into the City; the Duke of *Lorrain*, drew out a detachment, and met, fought, and drave them back with loſs to their main Body, and before night return'd with his Men within the Line of Circumvallation. The *Turks* encamped not far off, and frequently parties, (that had advance Money given them) were ſent to get in to the relief of the Gariſon, ſome whereof did obtain their Ends, but never attempted the Dukes Camp with their whole body. *September* the 2d, after two months and ten days cloſe Siege, with the loſs of a great number of Officers and Soldiers on both ſides, this ſtrong and eminent place was taken by Aſſault, in the ſight of the *Ottoman* Army; in an hours time, the firſt entrance was on that ſide the Duke of *Lorrain* made the Attack; at the time of the Aſſault the Gariſon was reduc'd to 5000 men, whereof 3000 were kill'd and 2000 taken priſoners, who were employ'd in burying the dead and cleanſing the ditches. It was now 158 years ſince the *Turks* firſt took this City, being led by *Solyman* the II. 1526. and it was gain'd back by the King of *Hungary*, 1527. but regain'd by the ſame *Solyman*, 1529, ſince which time it hath continued in the *Turks* poſſeſſion, tho' it hath been divers times beſieged before this in vain; this was very welcome news to the Pope, who cauſed 20000 Crowns to be diſtributed among the Soldiers wounded at the Siege, and gave 50000 more towards repairing the Fortifications of that place, and ſent a further ſupply to the Emperour towards paying his Army.

The Duke of *Lorrain* marched after the *Turkiſh* Army (for they decamped quickly) but their march was ſo haſty alſo, that they got over *Eſſeck Bridge* before he could reach them, and the time drew on for ſuch of his Army that were to have *Winter* Quarters in *Germany* to return, ſo that the main buſineſs of this Campagne ended; Nevertheleſs the Imperial Forces that remain'd in *Hungary* had conſiderable advantages againſt the Enemy, for in *October* the 23d, the *Turks* and *Tartars* coming to raiſe the Siege of *Segedin* were beaten by the *Imperialiſts*, and the Town yielded; the Town and Caſtle of *Chonad* was taken by General *Wallis*; and alſo the Caſtle of *Five Chutches* and *Syclos* yielded to Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, who marching towards *Eſſeck* the Gariſon of *Darda* quitted the Fort, leaving their Cannon, *&c.* behind them, and the Prince march'd on, and burnt 800 yards of *Eſſeck-Bridge*, and taking *Copoſwar* was ſatisfy'd in his this years ſucceſs, and took up his Winter-Quarters.

June the 4th, the Popes Nuntio in *Poland* (aſſiſted by four Biſhops of that Country) gave the King the Benediction, and the King went immediately to head his Troops, his own Army conſiſted of 30000, the *Lithuanians* had 15000, and the *Coſſacks* Auxilliaries near 10000, in all 55000 men; the Nuntio had provided a Magazine at *Limberg* and other Frontier places, and alſo a Field-Hoſpital for ſick and wounded Soldiers. With this Army the King marched toward the *Black-Sea*, and annoy'd the *Turks* and *Tartars* in thoſe parts, and afterward obtained a great Victory over them; but want of Forage hindred his intended march toward the *Danube*, and the ſeaſon requiring it he return'd to Winter-Quaruers.

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The *Muſcovites* enter'd into League with the King of *Poland* this year, and engaged to enter into the *Crim* of *Tartars* Country, but made only an appearrnce, for nothing of Action occurr'd; but the Nuntio to give his Holineſs an account that the King of *Poland* had not only appear'd but done ſomething, which he accordingly did, with a requeſt of a further ſupply; and the Pope being willing to encourage and reward him for the leaſt ſervices, did in *November* remit to him 300 thouſand Crowns.

And now the Pope having had an account from all places of the ſucceſſes the Chriſtians Arms had this year obtain'd againſt the Infidels, cauſed *Te Deum* to be ſung in the *Vatican* Chappel, in teſtimony of his thankfulneſs to God for the ſame.

This year a differance happen'd between the *French* King and the King of *Spain*, as well by reaſon the Viceroy of *Gallicia* had ſeized a French Ship with Money at *Guoyn*, and for the ſeizure of other Ships at *Malaga* after the late Truce was concluded between the two Crowns, (but before the News of it arriv'd at thoſe places) as alſo for that the *Spaniards* had rais'd 500 thouſand Crowns on the *French* effects in the *Weſt-Indies*; whereupon the *French* King ſent 20 men of War, and blockt up the Port at *Cadiz*, ſo that no ſhips could paſs in or out there. The Pope by his Nuntio's in both Courts apply'd himſelf to make up theſe breaches, and at laſt brought them to an accord; ſo that the Viceroy reſtor'd the Money to the Captain of the Ship, and the King of *Spain* entered into an Engagement, that as ſoon as the Ships came home from the *Weſt Indies*, the 500000 Crowns ſhould be repaid to the *Fren h* Ambaſſadour in that Court; the other matters were likewiſe accommodated, and a peace of Commerce at the *Weſt-Indies* ſetled between the two Crowns, whereupon the *French* Fleet ſailed off from *Cadiz*, and at the return of the *Spaniſh* Fleet the Money was paid to the *French* Ambaſſador, and the ſeizures made by the *French* King on the Subjects of *Spain*, in the *French* New Conqueſts, were taken off.

Since the time of the Emperour *Charles* the V. by an agreement, the King of *Spain* yearly on St. *Peters* Eve, with a great deal of ceremony, is to preſent the Pope with a White *Spaniſh Genet*, by way of acknowledgment, for the Kingdom of *Naples*, this year it was not offer'd according to place and order of Ceremony, as it ought to have been, ſo that the Pope refus'd to receive it, looking upon it, that a breach in a ſmall point, might be a preſident for a greater in future time: Notice being ſent hereof to *Spain*, That King order'd it ſhould be done in all reſpects as the Pope requir'd.

This year upon *Eaſter-Eve* the Earl of *Caſtlemain*, Ambaſſador from King *James* the II. of *Great Brittain* arriv'd at *Rome*, it being the Cuſtom of Princes who own the Pope to be Head of the Church, on their firſt acceſs to the Crown, to ſend an Ambaſſador to that Court, to notify the ſame to his Holineſs Cardinal *Howard* met him on the way, conducted him to his Palace, and entertain'd him and his Family very magnificently about 10 days, while *Pamphilio*'s Palace was making ready; within a weak he had private audience of the Pope, being conducted by Cardinal *Howard*; he then fell upon preparations for his publick Entry, the ſplendor and magnificence whereof

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was ſuch, that the *Artizans* were preſs'd to haſten it, yet it was about the beginning of *November* before every thing could be fitted, and then the Pope fell ſo ill of the Gout that he could not have audience before the 8th of *January*, and then not in the publick Hall where Ambaſſadors are uſually (on ſuch ſolemn Occaſions) receiv'd, but in the Bed-Chamber. Take here a ſhort account of it (which you may find at large in Mr *Wrights* Book on that Subject. with Figures of the Arms, Coaches, *&c.*)

In the Morning the Arms of the Pope, the King of *England*, and the Ambaſſadors (which had been ſet up ſome days before above the Gate of the Palace covered) were uncover'd with a Flouriſh of Trumpets, the whole was of a prodigious bigneſs, the wood-work whereon the Popes and the Kings Arms were painted being 24 foot in height each, and 16 in breadth, with ſupporters on each ſide, deviſes and Ornaments above, and Hieroglyphical figures underneath double the Life, one among divers others under the Pope, was a Woman clad in White, repreſenting the Church, and one under the Kings was *Britania* as ſhe is uſually painted, the Ambaſſadors Arms were placed over the Gate, being in a round about 2 yards diameter.

About 2 of the clock in the Afternoon the Prelates with the Popes chief Officers came to attend the Ambaſſador, who received alſo at the ſame time the complement of the Cardinals, Princes, and great men of *Rome*, by their Relations or Gentlemen that brought their ſeveral Coaches to wait upon him to the Popes Palace. He ſet out about four in the Evening, having ſix Arch-Biſhops in his own Coach, and Monſignior *Barrolini*; he had ten Coaches in his own Livery, all fill'd with Prelates, after which came their own Coaches and others that were ſent to attend fill'd with Gentlemen that brought them. His firſt Coach was covered with Crimſon Velvet, richly embroidered with Gold and lined with a Broccard of Gold, with a rich embroidery round the Corniſh, and in all the void places, with abundance of Gold Lace Fringe and Embroidery. On the Curtains were embroidered Loops a foot long and eight inches broad; the Velvet for Coach, Cuſhions, Harneſs, Braces, *&c.* amounted to 120 yards, the four Vaſes or Knobbs at the corners of the Coach were three foot high above the roof; the body was ſupported by ſtandards of large carved Images of *Tritons*, and beſides divers other Images, all the Wood-work to the very ſpokes of the Wheels were all carved, repreſenting Leaves of *Oak* and *Ivy*, gilt with Gold, inſomuch that all the Carriage ſeem'd to be a Maſſy-piece of Gold. The ſecond did almoſt anſwer the firſt, being of Blew Velvet. A third alſo very rich in Gold Lace and Gilt Braſs-work, but covered with Leather, and all the reſt of the Coaches were Noble and Rich. Before the firſt Coach went 30 Footmen, 20 in Cloaks, and 10 in cloſe bodied Coats, by the ſide of it eight Pages, and the Dean or Chief of the Footmen in Black Velvet; The Gentleman of the Horſe followed on a Managed *Neapolitan* Horſe, richly Capariſon'd; the Ambaſſadors other Coaches had each of them ſix Horſes alſo, and a Groom to attend every one; The Livery men were 60 in Number, the Pages in Crimſon Velvet, their Cloaks lin'd with Brocard Blue and Gold, laced with Gold Lace, mixt with a little White, Blew, and Black Silk, above half a

yard

yard deep, with rich trimmings of Gold and Blue Ribbons, with Feathers in their Hats, Poynt Crevats, and Cuffs, and every thing elſe very fine; The other Liveries were all of Scarlet, lined with Silk Brocard, and very richly laced; The weather was ſomewhat Rainy, yet this ſplendid ſhew drew abundance of ſpectators, and thus being come to *Monto Cavallo* where the Soldiers were drawn up to receive him, he was conducted to the Pope, and after ſome ſtay with him, he went to Cardinal *Cibo*'s Aparment, and afterwards with the help of Flambeaux return'd to his Palace. The next day he viſited Cardinal *Ludoviſio*, Dean of the Colledge; the day after the Queen of *Sweden* and ſeveral others in the ſame Equipage. On the 14th of *January* he gave a noble Entertainment to divers of the great Prelates at *Rome* in this manner; The Entrance was a great Hall, ſurrounded with long Tables furniſhed with Sweetmeats, Fruit and other Delicaſies, at the upper end being a Cupboard of all kind of Plate, and another of Glaſſes; then paſſing through three Rooms richly furniſhed (in the laſt of which was a Cupboard under a Canopy of curious Gilt Plate) they entred the Dining-Room, where was a Table that held 80 Arm'd Velvet Chairs, with a ſpace between every four Chairs for a Carver on the one ſide, and a Sewer on the other, ſo that there were eight perſons to a Meſs, with thoſe two Officers and a Servant behind each perſon to attend. The breadth of the Table was eight foot, and through the middle ran a range of large Hiſtorical Figures, ten in number made of a kind of Sugar-Paſte, ſent afterwards as Preſents to great Ladies; and to fill the vacancies betwixt them were variety of Birds and Beaſts of the ſame make; On either ſide theſe ſtood two rows of Intermeſſes of all reliſhing bits, whether Salt, Sweet, or Sowr; only where the Carver and Sewer were to ſtand was a void place on each ſide the Middle range for two large Diſhes of meat to ſtand, which were freſh brought in for twelve courſes, being 24 Imperial Diſhes to every Meſs; but to avoid tediouſneſs they were contracted to ten courſes, and ſo but 20 Diſhes; of which every one was ſerved from the Carvers, whether they eat or not; and then the Triumphs and Ornaments being taken away, the whole table was covered with all kind of Sweetmeats imaginable, which at laſt the ſtanders by ſnatch'd and carried away. The entertainment laſted 3 hours, each courſe was ſerved up with loud Muſick, and while they eat, they were entertain'd with ſoft Muſick, as Voices, Lutes, *&c.* there was plenty of all ſorts of delicate Wines and other Liquors, wherein the Ambaſſador about the middle of the Dinner began the Popes and the Kings Healths; on one ſide of the Room againſt the middle of the Table was the Kings Picture at large in his Royal Robes, and over againſt it, divers Hieroglyphick figures with the Kings Arms over them. The Ambaſſador having now done his part, he was complemented by ſeveral great Perſons and Academies in *Rome*, being invited to ſplendid Entertainments, accompanied with Muſick, Orations, Poems, Plays, Masks, Dances, and other Exerciſes, as every one thought fit to ſet forth the reſpect they bore to the King in the Perſon of his Ambaſſador; The firſt that invited him was the Queen of *Sweden*, then Cardinal *Pamphilio*, Cardinal *Franciſco Barbarini*, the Fathers of the *Gregorian*

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or *Roman Colledge*, the *Clementin Colledge*, the Academicks of the *Infecondi*; and laſtly, he was entertain'd at the Popes Palace at the Ceremony of giving Cardinals Hats in open Conſiſtory, for the Pope was prevail'd with at length to make a new creation of Cardinals, and four (that is) *Ciceri*, *Petrucci*, *Caraffa*, and *Medici* receiv'd their Hats the 24th of *May* 1687. Other Hats had been ſent where the Cardinal reſided, as to the Cardinal of *Furſtemberg*, &c. and now the Ambaſſador takes his ſecond leave of the Pope and had his Benediction again, (for his being preſent at this Ceremony, obliged him to ſee his Holineſs, tho' he had before had his Audience of leave, the Benediction with a pair of Beads, at which hung a Gold Medal of our Saviour, and on the 23th of *June* 1687. he left *Rome* and return'd homeward.)

I do not find that this Ambaſſadour was much careſſed by the Pope, but rather ſlighted, for on his telling the Pope, that if he were not better uſed he would leave *Rome*; the Pope reply'd, *You are Maſter of that as you pleaſe*; Whether it were becauſe (as ſome ſay) the Pope was a Proteſtant in his Heart, and did not favour the deſigned Perverſion of *England*, or (as others with more probability) out of his covetous temper, becauſe it was look'd upon, that little profit was like to accrue from *England* to that *See* (at leaſt for his time) Or rather becauſe the King of *England* was link'd in alliance with *France*, betwixt whom and the Pope there were continual differances; Or laſtly (which is chiefly inſiſted upon) becauſe the King of *England* was altogether influenced by the Jeſuits, and the Ambaſſador now there gave himſelf intirely up to their conduct; whoſe Mortification this Pope always endeavour'd, and not without reaſon, for as to their Religion he liked not their Morals, and as to their Power in all Chriſtian Princes Courts it exceeded his, and they were got into ſuch a condition, that if differences ſhould ariſe between him and them, they were likely enough to give him ſome check; and in the mean time leſſen'd him in that Grandeur of Government which he aſpir'd unto, by their interpoſing in the State Affairs of moſt Nations, without concerning themſelves with him at all therein; He looked upon them as a diſtinct and Independant Society, Subject to none but their General, from whom alone they receive all their prefrements, and to whom therefore they pay an abſolute Obedience without reſerve; and that they had got great riches in all places, and only us'd it for the advantage of the Society.

This year 1686. *November* the 5th, the River *Tyber* ſwell'd to that prodigious height, that it not only drown'd the Neighbouring Country, but put ſeveral quarters of *Rome* under water, which continued to the 7th, and then the waters began to decreaſe; this Inundation was not ſo high as one that happen'd in the year 1657. yet did an unſpeakable damage, drowning ſeveral people, and a great number of Cattle, and overthrowing many houſes, and part of the wall of the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and damnifying one of the Baſtions ſo much, that it was in danger to fall, the Pope took care to have the People aſſiſted with Boats and Proviſions, and what elſe they ſhould want; 300 Men were employ'd ſuddenly to build up the wall of St. *Angelo*'s Caſtle, and aſſiſtance was given to people towards their loſſes.

The Pope now to give ſome eaſe to his Subjects took off the Impoſitions upon Proviſions which was farm'd at 65 thouſand Crowns *per annum*.

In the beginning of *December*, Father *Charles de Noyeles*, General of the *Jeſuits* dyed, and in *July* following the Society choſe Father *Thyrſo Gonſales* a Spaniard, for their General, who had a conteſt in himſelf whether he ſhould viſit the *French* or *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador in the firſt place, he would willingly have wav'd viſiting either, but that could not be admitted; he at length reſolves it, and viſited the *French* firſt; at which the King of *Spain* ordered the Jeſuits in his Dominions not to own the new General, and the *French* King in retaliation, forbade ſeveral Religious Orders to obey their Generals being *Spaniards*.

On *January* the 30th 1686. The Duke *D'Eſtrees* who had reſided 15 years at *Rome* in the Quality of Ambaſſador from *France*, dyed of an Apoplexy. The Pope now reſolv'd to take the opportunity to put the Bull effectually in Execution, for regulating of the Franchiſes (which hitherto he had been eaſy in) and accordingly did aboliſh the Franchiſes of the Palace of *Farneſe*, where the late Ambaſſador had had his reſidence, and caus'd the *Sbirris*, or Officers of Juſtice to appear therein; of which the Nuntio at *Paris* acquainted that King, who ſeem'd not willing to quit that point; He afterwards let him know alſo, that the Queen of *Sweden* had voluntarily quitted the Franchiſes, of that quarter adjoyning to her Palace at *Rome*, admitting the *Sbirris* to execute what belong'd to their Office therein; the King notwithſtanding ſhew'd an unwillingneſs to admit it, and hence grew another Controverſy between the Pope and the French King, as ſhall be ſhew'd hereafter.

And now its time to be making preparations for the next years War. In *February*, the Popes Nuntio in *Poland* undertook to provide Magazines with Proviſions, *&c.* for the Army of that King; and in *March* the Prince of *Lubmirki*, Great Marſhal of *Poland*, came to Court, where the Muſcovite Ambaſſadour gave their reaſons why they did not advance further the laſt Campagne, and promiſed for the next year with their Auxilliaries to have a brave Army in the Field. Another Ambaſſador from thence was alſo at *Vienna*, who went away well ſatisfy'd; yet in the latter end of *June* they return'd to the borders of *Muſcovy*, after they had made ſome little incurſions into the *Tartars* Country, without ever ſeeing an Enemy.

The Pope, Emperor, and King of *Poland* had formerly ſent Envoys to the Sophy of *Perſia* at *Hiſpahan*, who were there a year before they could be admitted to audience, to have anſwer to the Letters they brought, which were to ſet forth the advantage the Chriſtians had gained over the Turks in the late Wars, and to encourage him to bring an Army, at ſo conſiderable a juncture of time as this was, which if omitted he might expect not only to be fruſtrate of ſuch another opportunity, but be alſo ſet upon by the Turk (if he ſhould prevail againſt the Chriſtians) when he had ſtrengthned himſelf and had more leiſure; The Sophy at length gave anſwer in ſeven Letters, two to the Pope, two to the Emperor, and three to the King of *Poland*, the reſult of all was, *That the Sophy is in Peace with the Turks, and*

that

that his Conſcience will not permit him to violate his Oath, *(by which he had confirm'd it) in declaring War againſt the Turk.*

In *March*, the Pope remitted a 100 thouſand Crowns to his Nuntio at *Vienna*, for the ſervice of the next Campagne.

Cardinal *D'Eſtrees* told the Pope that the *French* King would religiouſly obſerve the Truce and good correſpondence with the Emperor; *yet went on to Fortify places on the Rhine.*

In *February*, the Pope reſolv'd to maintain 1000 Men at his own charge, to aſſiſt the *Venetians* in *Dalmatia*, and *Signior Imperiale* Treaſurer General of the Chamber, went to *Civita Vecchia*, to give orders and haſten the fitting of the Galleys againſt *May*, that Month being appointed for the Rendezvous of the Popes Galleys and thoſe from *Malta* and *Tuſcany*, who had all along heretofore joyned the Popes, to aſſiſt in the *Morea*.

1687.

In *July*, the Popes, *Malteſe*, and *Tuſcany* Galleys did not think fit to joyn the *Venetian* Fleet, for fear of infection (the Plague having been amongſt them) tho' it was aſſur'd that now the Fleet was clear; however they fear'd there might be ſome remains in *Napoli di Romania*; but his Holineſs wrote to the *Senate*, That in caſe his Galleys could be ſerviceable to them towards *Dalmatia*, they ſhould have Orders to Sail thither.

Towards the end of *July*, the *Venetian* Fleet in the Gulph of *Lepanto* Landed ſome Soldiers, and beat the *Turkiſh* Army, found *Lepanto*, and ſeveral other places preſently abandoned by the *Turks*, which they made themſelves Maſters of, with ſome Guns; at Sea they took almoſt all their Naval Force, being 14 Galleys. The Popes Galleys, *&c.* at length having adventur'd to joyn the *Venetian* Fleet; with the aſſiſtance of theſe they alſo took *Caſtle-Novo* in *Albania*, and diſcomfited the Turks Army there; the Veſſels from this place uſed much to infeſt the *Adriatique* Sea, which made the gain of it the more conſiderable; there were found in it 700 Chriſtian Slaves, who had been taken by the *Turks* this year, which the Conquerors releaſed, getting beſides a very conſiderable booty, which had been taken by Pyracy.

This year the *Venetians* likewiſe took *Athens*, and the *Turks* having abandon'd *Corinth* and ſet fire to it, the *Venetians* entred it, and had the Keys of the Caſtle of *Totnes* deliver'd to them. Thus in a little time the *Venetians* became Maſters of all the *Morea*, (being 500 Miles in Circuit) but the Fortreſs of *Malvaſia*; and now the Seaſon of the year requiring it, the Popes Galleys, *&c.* return'd homewards, and in the beginning of *November* arriv'd at *Civita Vecchia*.

On the 12th of *Auguſt* the Dukes of *Lorrain* and *Bavaria*, Generals of the Imperial Army, obtained a very great Victory over the *Turks* Army, near *Siclos*; It was ſaid the *Turks* Army conſiſted of 100000, of which between 8000 or 10000 were kill'd on the place, and as many drown'd; the

Imperialists also took all their Cannon, Tents, and Baggage, of very great value, with the loss of not above 500 Men. After this the Duke of *Lorrain* passed the *Danube*, but found the Country so scarce of Provision and Forage, that he was forced in *October* to retire towards his Winter-Quarters to refresh his Men, but General *Dunewalt*, with some of the Imperial Army that were left with him, and the assistance of the *Croatian* Militia, took *Buezin*, and *Walpo*, and surprised *Esseck*, where at the Imperialists entrance at the one end of the Town, the *Turks* fled out at the other, Mines were ready charg'd to have blown up the Castle at their departure, but their haste to be gone prevented firing them, and the Imperialists being speedily by the Inhabitants directed to them, took out the Powder. And thus was this Campagne compleated with the possessing the chief Passage the *Turks* had into *Hungary*.

The Arch-Duke, *Joseph*, Son of the Emperor, was by consent of the Dyet, *December* the 9th, Crowned King of *Hungary*. On the 18th of *December*, that considerable place, *Agria* was surrendred to the Imperialists that stayed in *Hungary*; It was taken by the *Turks* 1556, and had continued in their possession until this time.

The Pope had formerly taken the Assignments of several Noblemens Creditors, because he could better deal with them than others, as is noted before; This year in *June*, He gave Orders for seizing the Estate of the Duke of *Bracciano* for payment of his Debts, notwithstanding the great Sollicitations of his Relations and Friends to the contrary; The Dutchess, who was Sister to the Duke of *Nairmoustier*, parted the latter end of this Month for *Paris*, hoping to find out some means, whereby to prevent the absolute sale of their Estate, and consequently the ruine of that ancient Family, which is a Branch of the House of *Ursini*.

In the beginning of *July* several Congregations were held in presence of the Pope, upon occasion of the *Quietists*, whom he was thought to favour, and was reproach'd in *France* as though he had suffer'd a Heresie to grow up under his Nose, and spread it self through the whole Church.

In *August* another Congregation was held on the same account, where it was Decreed, that Dr. *Molinos* should publickly Recant several Propositions drawn out of his Books, his Letters, and the Confessions of some that had been apprehended and imprison'd by the Inquisitors for those Opinions; But this business of the *Quietests* is so considerable, that this History would be imperfect, if I do not give a farther account of it; for in *February* and *March* (before this came so home on Dr. *Molinos*) there were imprisoned by order of the *Inquisitors*, 200 Persons, some whereof, for their Rank, Learning, and Piety, were very much esteem'd at *Rome*, who were supposed to have imbibed the Doctrine of *Molinos*, it will be therefore necessary to begin with some account of him.

Michael de Molinos was a *Spaniard* of a good and wealthy Family; He entred into *Priests Orders*, but had never any Ecclesiastical Benefice; so that he seemed to have Dedicated himself to the Service of the Church, without designing Temporal Advantage to himself; He passeth in *Italy* for a Man both

both of Learning and good Sence, but hath no good way of Reaſoning to maintain his Opinion; His courſe of Life hath been exact, ſo that the Pope, who looked chiefly at the practice of Men, (not well indeed underſtanding or concerning himſelf in the Myſtery of Divinity) ſaid of him, That *though he might err, yet he was a good Man*; and therefore to depreſs him in the Popes favour, and calumniate him to others, the Jeſuits (who became the Proſecutors of him and his Followers) ſuggeſted, that he was of a Vicious Life and Converſation: It is true, he never practiſed thoſe Auſterities that are ſo much magnified in the Church of *Rome*, and among Religious Orders; neither did he recommend them to others, nor was he fond of thoſe poor Superſtitions, that are ſo much magnified by the Traſficking Men of that Church; and indeed when he was accuſed as neglecting Confeſſion, ſo that, to clear himſelf, he was forced to write a Tract, wherein he commends it, he doth it with ſuch ridiculous Stories to prove its uſefulneſs, that it makes it nauceous to all conſiderate Perſons, who are not bound up to a blind belief of all the Forms and Orders of that Church.

He gave himſelf up to the Study and Reading of Myſtical Divines, and to the Practice of that Sublime, Myſterious Devotion, which in Writings appear'd firſt in the middle of the Fifth Century; as *Caſſians Collations*, *Denis* the *Areopagite*, ſince then St. *Bernard*, *Thauler*, *Rusbrachius*, *Harphius*, *Suſo*, and chiefly *Thomas a Kempis*, and one *Walter Hilton* in *England* wrote a Tract, called, *The Seal of Perfection*, inferior to none of thoſe beforementioned, and in the laſt Age St. *Tereſa*, *Beltaſar Alvares* a Jeſuit; alſo of late Father *Creſſy* has publiſhed out of *F. Bakers* Paper, a whole Body of that Method of Divinity and Devotion: Dr. *Molinos* himſelf hath wrote ſome things hereupon, one Book is publick, Intituled, *Il Guida Spirituale*, which is a ſhort Abſtract of the Myſtical Divinity; the ſubſtance of the whole is reduced to this, (as a Learned Writer ſets it forth) *That in our Prayers and other Devotions, the beſt Methods are to retire the Mind from all groſs Images, and ſo to form an act of Faith, and thereby preſent our ſelves before God; and then to ſink into a ſilence and ceſſation of new Acts, and to let God act upon us, and ſo to follow his Conduct.*

There is alſo this account given of this Myſtical Divinity, That they conſider Man in three Degrees or Eſtates, firſt, the Animal or Imaginative State, in which Religion may work ſtrongly on the Fancy and Senſitive Powers, but is but a low form, variable, and of no great force; the ſecond is the Rational, in which thoſe Reflections are made on Truths, which convince the Reaſon, and puts a force upon the Will, but as they ſay is only dry, and without motion; the third and higheſt is the *Contemplative*, in which the Will is ſo united to God, and overcome by that union, that in one ſingle act of *Contemplation*, it adores God, loves him, and reſigns it ſelf up to him, and herein feels a ſecret Joy in God, and an acquieſcing in his Will; in which (ſay they) the true elevation of Devotion lies, which is far above either the heats of Fancy in the firſt State, or the ſtrength of Reaſoning in in the ſecond. *Molinos* having it ſeems drank in the Principles of the Contemplative Devotion in *Spain*, where the great Veneration that is paid to

St. *Tereſa*

St. *Teresa* gives it much reputation, he brought over to *Italy* a great Zeal for propogating it, and being setled at *Rome*, writ his Book, and entred into Converſation with Men of the beſt Apprehenſions, and the moſt elevated thoughts, that were to be found there; ſeveral concurr'd with him, though it may be on different Principles; as, ſome ſincerely to elevate the Mankind above thoſe poor and trivial Superſtitions, that are ſo much in vogue among all the Bigots of the Church of *Rome*; ſome perhaps from an averſion to the Regulars, that they might lead Mens Devotions into other Channels; others of ſincerity and prudence ſaw the neceſſity of Correcting many things in their Worſhip, which they durſt not yet attack as ſimply unlawful; but thought it more ſafe and likely to prevail, by raiſing Men above them, whereby their vain Superſtitions would fall of themſelves, and ſo hoped to introduce a Reformation of many Abuſes, without ſeeming to do it; and perhaps ſome tired out with the Forms and Ceremonies they had been ſo long accuſtomed unto, were ready to catch at a thing that appear'd new and more refin'd, eſpecially being Opinions favour'd by Men of their own Religion, who were in great Eſteem for Learning and Sanctity among them.

The Book which *Molinos* wrote was publiſhed in the year 1675, with ſeveral conſiderable Mens Approbation before it, by which and his Letters he gained a great Acquaintance and Correſpondence in many different places, ſo that ſeveral adhered to his Doctrines, and ſome Secular Prieſts both at *Rome* and *Naples* declared themſelves openly for it; three eminent Fathers of the Oratory, who were advanced at the laſt promotion of Cardinals, *Coloredi*, *Ciceri*, and *Petrucci*, joyned themſelves to him with great heartineſs and ſincerity; ſome other Cardinals were obſerved to court his Acquaintance; the Pope (who is chiefly the Subject of this Diſcourſe) lodged him in an Apartment of the Palace, and divers Prieſts not only began to form themſelves according to his Method, but to diſpoſe their Penitents to follow it, and it grew ſo much in vogue, that ſeveral *Nuns* (who had not Jeſuits to be their Confeſſors) began to lay aſide their Roſaries and other Devotions, and to give themſelves much to exerciſe Mental Prayer; In *France* there was a Book alſo wrote on the ſame Subject, ſo that it appear'd theſe Opinions had gained much ground both in *Italy*, *Spain*, and *France*.

And now the *Jeſuits* and *Dominicans* began to be allarm'd at its progreſs, and found their Trade begin to decay, and that it would more and more, if ſome ſtop were not put to this new *Method*; firſt therefore they decry the Authors as Hereticks, and to faſten a name upon them, they called them *Quietiſts*, Books were alſo written againſt them; and theſe Diſputes raiſed ſo much noiſe, that the Inquiſition took notice of the whole Matter; *Molinos* and his Book, and *F. Petrucci*'s Treatiſes and Letters, were brought under a ſevere Examination, and the Jeſuits were their Proſecutors; One of that Society had ſubſcribed the approvement of *Molinos*'s Book, in order to the Printing of it, but they took care he ſhould be no more ſeen at *Rome*, for he was either ſent away or ſhut up, ſo careful are they that all their Order ſpeak the ſame Language; Upon this Trial both *Molinos* and *Petrucci* juſtified themſelves ſo well, that their Books were again approved, and the Anſwers

which

which the Jeſuits had writ, were cenſured as Scandalous, and the others Credit was raiſed, and *Petrucci* ſoon after made Biſhop of *Jeſi*, which was a new Declaration of the Popes Favour.

The Jeſuits finding they could not ruine them hereby, prevailed (by the Intereſt their Order hath with the *French* King) that he ſhould (by his Miniſter at *Rome*) interpoſe and repreſent to the Pope the danger of ſuch Innovations, and it was ſaid that by his Order Cardinal *D'Eſtrees* had appear'd very vigorous both to the Pope and the *Inquiſitors* againſt the People now appearing numerous, and having the Name of *Quietiſts* conferr'd upon them; and though they had lain ſtill a great while, yet in *February* this year 1687, the Count *Veſpiani* and his Lady, Don *Paulo Rochi*, with others, to the number of 70, were clapt up by the Inquiſitors, as *Molinos* and ſome of his Followers had been in the year 1685, upon which *Paſquin* was made to ſpeak pleaſantly, That in one week one Man had been condemn'd to the Gallies for ſomewhat he had ſaid, another had been hanged for ſomewhat he had writ, and *Molinos* was clapt in Priſon for ſtanding *Quiet*: What muſt we do then? But to return to our preſent time, the things laid to the Churchmens charge, was their neglecting to ſay their Breviary; and for the reſt, they were accuſed for going ſometimes to Communion without Confeſſion, and that they neglected all the Exterior parts of their Religion; being brought to anſwer, the Counteſs *Veſpiniani*'s caſe made ſome noiſe, for ſhe ſaid, ſhe had never revealed her Method of Devotion, to any Mortal, but to her Confeſſor, and ſo it was not poſſible that it ſhould come to their knowledge any other way, but by his betraying that ſecret, and, ſhe ſaid, it was time for People to give over going to Confeſſion, if Prieſts made this uſe of it, to diſcover thoſe who truſted their moſt ſecret thoughts to them, and therefore for time to come, ſhe would make her Confeſſions only to God; This had got vent, ſo that the *Inquiſitors* thought it more fitting to diſmiſs her and her Husband, than to give ſuch an occaſion to leſſen the Credit of Confeſſion; but that which more immediately concerns this Hiſtory, and is the moſt ſurprizing part of this account is, that on the 13th of *February* ſome were deputed by the Court of *Inquiſition* to Examine the Pope himſelf, (ſuſpected to be guilty of this Hereſy) not in the Quality of *Chriſt's Vicar*, or St. *Peters Succeſſor*, but as *Benedict Odeſcalchi*; what was done in it, is too great a ſecret to penetrate into, but it procur'd Diſcourſes at *Rome*, touching his pretended Infallibility, and the power of his own Court to Examine him. A Circular Letter was now ſent by the Inquiſitors to Cardinal *Cibo*, as chief Miniſter, to be ſent by him about *Italy*, to all *Prelates*, That whereas many Schools and Fraternities were formed, in which ſome perſons under pretence of leading People into the way of the Spirit, and to the Prayer of *Quietneſs*, they inſtilled into them many abominable Hereſies; therefore a ſtrict charge was given to diſſolve all theſe Societies; and requiring the Biſhops to oblige all the *Spiritual Guides* to tread in the known Paths; And particularly, that care be taken, that none of that ſort ſhould be ſuffered to have the Direction of the Nunneries, and the Books tending thereto were ſent for out of the Nuns Hands, and they were requir'd to return to the uſe of their Beads.

The

The Inquiſitors then drew up 19 Errors, which they ſaid they had abſtracted out of the Quietiſts Books, Writings and Letters, (though ſome were unjuſtly aſcribed unto them, to calumniate them to the People;) theſe were refuted and condemned.

After two years gentle Impriſonment of Dr. *Molinos*, on the third of *September*, 1687. he was brought into the Dominicans Church, the *Minerva*, and ſet upon a Scaffold erected on purpoſe, and the whole Proceſs read againſt him, wherein he was taxed of many Enormities in Life, as well as Errors in Doctrine, digeſted into 68 Propoſitions, and then his Sentence was alſo read, condemning him to cloſe Impriſonment during his Life, and to ſay his *Creda*, and the fourth part of his *Roſary* every day: All that he was heard to ſay, was, *That they ſaw a Man that was defamed, but was penitent*; he was chained, and a Wax-light put into his hand, and ſome Perſons were prepared to cry, *Fire, Fire*; he was carried then to his little Cell, which he entred with great Tranquility, and had in all his Deportment, appeared free and calm, and took leave of his Prieſt in theſe words, *Adieu Father, we ſhall meet again at the Day of Judgment, and then it will appear on which ſide the Truth is, whether on my ſide or on yours.*

As to what concern'd Cardinal *Petrucci*, it was accommodated thus, That upon his arrival at his Biſhoprick, he ſhould write a Letter to the Pope, acknowledging, That he was unhappily enclined to *Molinos*'s Doctrine; and therefore deſired his Books, treating of that Subject, might be prohibited, ſubmitting himſelf to ſuch Penance the holy Office ſhould think fit to impoſe; and promiſing, in a ſhort time, to publiſh a Book in Refutation of their Errors.

And now, ſince the Doctrines had been condemn'd, and Books and Writings call'd in, ſeveral came in, and abjured their Errors; and the Pope, either out of Kindneſs to them, as Perſons he liked well, or, willing to ſhew Mercy to Offenders, grants a general Pardon, remitting ſuch as are in Priſon to their Liberty, and a Diſcharge from further Proſecution; the Errors being ſuppoſed to be dead by the Inquiſitors condemning them, and *Molinos*'s Impriſonment. Yet many of his Followers, ſays he, abjured nothing of his own Doctrine conſiderable, but ſuch falſe things as were put upon him: And, as to his Defamation, touching a ſcandalous Life, they believed not a word of it, both becauſe they never were aſſured any ſuch thing was proved, neither had thoſe of both Sexes, that converſed with him, any ground to believe him Guilty of ſuch Scandal or Hipocriſie, as he was charged with; and alſo the *Bull*, that condemns his Books and Doctrines, makes no mention of his ill Life, which it would very probably have done, if the matter had been well proved. And it is known, that People do yet follow his Method of Devotion in *Rome* it ſelf.

On *July* the 7th Cardinal *Sluze*, Native of *Liege*, after a long Sickneſs, in the 60th year of his Age, died: And alſo in *Auguſt* Cardinal *Nicolo Albergeti Ludoviſio* died, in the 75th year of his Age, which made five Places void in the College of Cardinals; he had been 43 years a Cardinal, his Generoſity and Piety having drein'd his Coffers, he coyn'd his Plate, when the *Turks* beſieged *Vienna*, and ſent it unto the Emperor.

In

In the end of *October*, the Pope beſtowed the long expected Proviſions, or Benefices, on the Cardinals of the late Promotion.

In *December* he ordered the 40 hours Prayers to be reviv'd for the Peace of the Church.

About *December*, the Cardinal of *Furſtemberg*, by the French King's Intereſt, (in oppoſition to what the Pope or the Emperoror could effect,) was choſen to the Coadjutorſhip of *Cologne*, whereupon the Pope delay'd his Confirmation.

In *January*, the Pope was indiſpoſed by a ſtrong Deſluction, ſo that he kept his Bed, admitting none to ſpeak with him, but his Nephew *Don Lzvio*, and the Treaſurer.

In the later end of this year, about *November*, began the great Revolution at *Conſtantinople*, which, conſidering what has paſs'd before, will not be impertinent to this Hiſtory.

The *Ottoman* Army, having received ſo great a defeat this Summer, and their Arms ſucceeding no where, the Soldiers, inſtead of being aſhamed, that they had done no better, began to mutiny againſt the Great Men of the *Port*, complaining, that they had not been well paid, and that the Viſier wanted Conduct, &c. The Grand Signior promiſed their Arrears ſhould be paid, and, that not contenting them, ſent the Seal to a *Chiaus Baſſa*, their Leader in this Mutiny, (which made him Grand Viſier,) and afterwards the Head of the late Viſier; but neither would this ſatisfie, though, withal, word was ſent them, that the Treaſurer, and other Great Men, (of whom they complained,) were kept alive only to diſcover their Eſtates, which ſhould be confiſcated for pay of the Army, whereby Four or Five hundred thouſand Crowns were raiſed, and ſeveral of them were ſtrangled ſoon after: The Mutiniers not ſatisfied, declare then againſt the great Expence of the *Port*; whereupon 1000 Women, Attendants at the Court, and divers others, were turn'd off, and *Ibrahim*, a former Viſier, was ſtrangled, and ſeveral Great Men were ſent to the Army, that they might ſee them executed, who, upon their arrival, would not wait for that, but in great Rage cut them to pieces, and with them an Officer in the Army, of their own Accomplices, for deſiring to forbear killing one, only until he ſhould give an account, which way the Revenue was waſted; and the ſame day the confiſcated Eſtates were ſent them, with Orders to ſtay at *Adrianople*, and come no nearer: But nothing of this could quell their Fury, they inſiſt upon having the Grand Signior depoſed, and the ſetting up his Brother *Solyman* in his place; but *Mahomet*, to prevent this, reſolved the death of his Brother and Sons, and went accordingly to their Apartments, but there he found Reſiſtance, and the very Officers he took with him would not obey him, and ſo he returned to his own Apartment, where was preſently a Guard put upon him, and his Brother and Sons were conducted to the *Old Serail*, and had a Guard for their Security: The Army (notwithſtanding the former Command,) marcheth on-ward, and ſome Officers, with 1500 Men, came in haſte to *Conſtantinople*, and, early in the morning, met with others in the chief Mosk *November* 18, and put this Queſtion to the new *Mufti* (*viz.*) *Whether, for the good of the Empire*, Mahomet *the*

Fourth might not be depoſed, and Solyman *ſet on the Throne*, who anſwered in the affirmative; Thereupon *Solyman* was Proclaimed; *Mahomet* knew not of this until Noon, when, asking for Horſes, he was told he muſt ask leave of Sultan *Solyman*, who ſoon after ſent an Order under his own hand-writing to this effect; *That as* Mahomet *had kept his Brother in Priſon* 40 *years, it was but juſt that he ſhould be ſhut up as long himſelf, to do Penance for his ſins*, and ordered him to be ſecur'd. Of thoſe that came to ſeize him, he asked, *What have I done to deſerve this uſage?* To which was anſwer'd; *That if there were no more in it, he had now Reigned* 40 *years, and that might content him.* All this was done without Blood, or ſo much as diſturbance to the Shop-keepers in the City; and now he that ſo vaunted himſelf, in his Declaration, as above *Chriſt* and his Followers, was thus eaſily depoſed by his own Soldiers, which he rais'd againſt the Chriſtians.

The preſent *Sultan* is a perſon of ſtrong Complexion, fair Stature, and belov'd by the Prieſts and Lawyers, having much addicted himſelf to the ſtudy of their Law during his confinement. His firſt entrance was eaſy, but the *Janizaries* and *Spahies* coming to Town, became very tumultuous, and committed great Inſolencies and Violencies, which the *Grand Signior* could not reſtrain, until they had their Arrears paid, and their Donative (uſual at the ſetting up a new *Sultan*) given them, and notwithſtanding that, ſeeing themſelves now to be Maſters, there was no bridling their Appetite, for in *March* following they began again to be mutinous, and kill'd the Grand Viſier and others, plundering both theirs and the beſt Shop-keepers Houſes: This they did twice, and were ſuppreſs'd both times by the Grand Signior's ſetting up the Standard of *Mahomet*, and the Prieſts making Proclamation for all true Muſſelmen to repair to it; which they muſt do, or elſe they are *ipſo facto* divorced from their Wives; and withal, they look upon themſelves obliged in Conſcience to do it, ſo that all ſorts of People (even to the aged and decrepid,) reſorted with Arms to defend it; and by them were many of the Mutineers taken, and preſently cut in pieces, and the reſt fled and hid themſelves; and afterwards a Quarrel began between the Horſe and Foot, wherein many were kill'd, and thereby (the time of the year alſo calling them into the Field,) they were at laſt appeaſed.

The Grand Signior, preſently after, conſulted how to bring them to their ancient Diſcipline, and to live according to their Law, in not drinking Wine, *&c.* And in *January* this year, 168⅞, the ſtrong and very conſiderable place of *Mongatz* was ſurrendered to the Imperialiſts by the Princeſs *Ragotski*, (Count *Teckeley*'s Wife) who, with her Children, were brought to *Vienna*, where they remain, having the whole City for their Priſon.

This year the French King ſent the Marqueſs *de Lavardin* to be his Ambaſſador at *Rome*, who came into the City, with a very great Train, upon the 16th of *November*, although the Pope had forbid, that any Notice ſhould be taken of him as an Ambaſſador in his Journey through *Italy*, becauſe the King had not conſented to allow the Bull about the Franchiſes; and the Marquiſs knowing it, to avoid any diſreſpect that might be ſhewed to him, came *incognito* till his arrival near *Rome*, where he was met, guarded, and attended

tended very ſplendidly unto the Palace of *Farneſe*. The Pope had ſome notice before his coming, that divers ſtrange Perſons had reſorted to the City, and therefore had ordered an account to be taken of what Strangers were lately come into the City, and what was their buſineſs. Before the end of *December* the Ambaſſador had twice demanded Audience of the Pope, and was denied it until his Maſter had ſo far own'd his Holineſs Authority as to admit his Bull; whereupon the Popes Nuncio in *France* had the like uſage. In the mean time the Ambaſſador cauſed twelve Men to go the rounds every night about his Palace, changing them upon the ringing of a Bell, in the ſame manner as Sentinels are relieved in time of War; ſome ſaid it was to hinder the City Officers of the Watch from coming near the Palace, though the pretence was to hinder Malefactors from taking Sanctuary in his Excellency's Quarters; both the Ambaſſador and the Marchioneſs his Wife, frequently paſs'd through the Streets viſiting the Churches, and places of Devotion.

St. *John* of *Lateran*'s Church was endowed in part by *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, and the *French* Ambaſſador reſiding at *Rome* uſually joined there in the Church Service on the 13th of *December*, being the Feaſt of St. *Lucy*, celebrated with great ſolemnity; This year the Pope cauſed it to be omitted to prevent the difficulties that might enſue if the Ambaſſador ſhould come as formerly, for the Pope in his Bull touching the Franchiſes, had declared ſuch as ſhould not conform thereunto, to ſtand *ipſo facto* Excommunicated, and therefore the Marquiſs *de Lavardin*, and the principal perſons of his Retinue, on *Chriſtmaſs-Eve* following, being admitted to midnight-Maſs (as other *French* Ambaſſadors uſed to be) at the Church of St. *Lewis*, about two days after there was found affixed on that Church the following Sentence of *Interdict*.

By the Apoſtolical Authority, and the ſpecial Command of our holy Lord the Pope, *the Pariſh Church of* St. Lewis, *is declared to be under an Eccleſiaſtical* Interdict, *for that the Rector, Officials and Members of the ſaid Church have raſhly preſumed, on the Eve of the* Nativity *of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *to admit to Divine Service, and the Participation of the Sacrament,* Henry de Beaumonoir, *Marquis of* Lavardin, *who is notoriouſly Excommunicated. Given at* Rome, *this 26th day of* December 168⅞.

Jaſpar, *Cardinal-Vicar.*

Let none dare to take this down, upon pain of the greater Excommunication to be incurr'd by a Sentence reſerved to our holy Lord.

On the morrow after the affixing the aforeſaid Interdict, the Ambaſſador publiſhed the following Proteſt.

Henry Charles Sire de Beaumonoir *Marquiſs of* Lavardin, *Ambaſſador Extraordinary from the Moſt* Chriſtian *King to Pope* Innocent *the Eleventh, cannot believe that a Printed Placard that is ſpread abroad, vended and affixed in* Rome, *ſuppoſing Notorious Excommunication againſt him, by virtue of a certain pretended*

Bull *unknown to him, and not published in* France, *can have proceeded from his Holiness himself; and there are few Rational People in all Christendom, exempt from passion and animosity against* France, *that can imagine, that at a time when his Majesty does with so much success employ all his Care and Authority to reduce his Subjects into the Bosom of the Church, and to cause God to be served and adored in all places where his Dominion reaches, in the purity of the Catholick Apostolical and* Roman *Religion, a Pope, whose advancement he desired, through the esteem he had of his Virtue, should of his own proper Motion refuse all Audience to the Ambassador of so great a King, the eldest Son of the Church, who hath deserved as much and more of it than his August Ancestors, to whom it is indebted for the most considerable part of its Temporal Greatness, and who, even in this conjuncture of continual Occasions of Discontent given him by the Popes Ministers, has recommended nothing more expressly to the said Ambassador, than to make manifest to his Holiness the Filial Respect he shall ever have for him, and use his utmost care to restore a perfect understanding between the Pope and himself; It seems much farther from all probability, that his Holiness should without any Form, Cause, Reason, and without having allow'd him a Hearing, Interdict the Church of St.* Lewis, *and term him notoriously Excommunicated, before that he had done any thing that might incur the least Censure, nay and without their being able to know what his Orders are with which he is encharged, which coming from the Wisdom and Piety of a most* Christian King, *can never expose him to the penalty of Excommunication, from which also his Character representing the Sacred Person of so great a Monarch, ought ever to Skreen him; God forbid also, that the said* Sieur de Lavardin *should suspect his Holiness of so unmaintainable, and so extraordinary a Procedure. He plainly perceives that he hath only occasion to complain of the Insolence and Temerity of those, that abusing the Confidence which the Infirmities of so great an Age as is that of his Holiness, obliges him to put in persons about him, and whom he makes use of to be eased of part of his care, and make advantage of his relianceon them to make him enter into Engagements directly contrary to the Sentiment of Paternal Affection, which the most Holy Popes have ever had for the Kings of* France, *and giving false Colours to all that passes through their Hands, impose upon his Holinesse's Judgment, and make it their Business to let him see nothing, but what must exasperate him against* France. *This has made them redouble all their Efforts to hinder his Holiness from being undeceived by all that the Marquess* de Lavardin *is to represent to him in his Majesties Name, and it would be easie for him to make it appear to his Holiness, that the pretexts they make use of are without any ground; for not only the said Ambassador is not come to disturb his Holiness's Temporal Jurisdiction, but on the contrary he can with Truth protest on the behalf of the King his Master, that if the Pope were attack'd by any one whatsoever, his Majesty would employ the Forces and Power that God hath put into his hands to maintain the Holy* See, *after the Example of the Kings his Predecessors, in its Prerogatives and Possessions, to whose Augmentation they have ever contributed; This is also what ought to oblige his Holiness to hinder, as a Sovreign* Prince, *that in his Territories there should not be any Diminution made in the Respect which hath ever been observ'd towards the Ambassadors of* France; *And as the Marquis* de Lavardin *does not pretend to extend it beyond the Immemorial possession, which the said Ambassadors have ever had,*

and

and which the Duke de Crequi, de Chaulnes, *and* D'Estrees *have retain'd, as his Holineſs himſelf hath ſeen and known, not only by Vertue of that ancient Prerogative of the Crown of* France, *in the common Country of all Chriſtendom, of which it hath ever been the firmeſt ſupport, but alſo in Conſequence of the Treaty of* Piſa, *for whoſe performance the Pope is no leſs bound than he that contracted it. There is not a perſon of good ſence that can preſume that this pretended Excommunication can regard the ſaid Ambaſſador; and without entring into all the reaſons that have been ſo often ſaid upon the* Bull, in Cœna Domini, *againſt which the whole* Gallican *Church aſſembled at* Tours *in* 1510. *has reclaimed, as being unmaintainable in regard of* France, *and publiſh'd by a Pope who had declared himſelf its Capital Enemy, nor in all that can be ſaid againſt the other* Bulls, *which ſerve for a Foundation to that which is pretended to be from his Holineſs, which can never be publiſh'd nor receiv'd in the Realm: It is ſufficient to ſay, that the Marquis* de Lavardin *is his moſt Chriſtian Majeſties Ambaſſador, and by Conſequence exempt from all Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, as long as he ſhall be inveſted with that Character, and ſhall Execute the Orders of the King his Maſter. Therefore he doth not think it neceſſary to appeal from his pretended Excommunication of the Pope ill inform'd, to his Holineſs himſelf, when he ſhall be undeceived, in the Audience he ſhall grant him, of the falſe Impreſſions which turbulent Spirits, and ſuch as are Enemies of* France, *who make it their whole buſineſs to break the good underſtanding that ought to be between the Holy-See and his Majeſty, have made upon him.*

He alſo reckons it to be uſeleſs to appeal to a future Council *lawfully aſſembled; and nevertheleſs from this preſent, and as far forth as ſhall be needfull, he proteſts the Nullity of all that may hitherto have been done, or may hereafter be pronounc'd, publiſh'd, or affixed againſt his Perſon, Family, Domeſtiques or others, and to provide himſelf as ſhall be found reaſonable, declaring that if any one of whatſoever Quality he may be, is wanting to the reſpect and regard due to his Character, he ſhall become reſponſible both to God and Men, for all the miſchiefs that may reſult from the offence done to his Majeſty, by violating the right of Nations, in the Perſon of his Ambaſſador. Given at* Rome, Dec 27th, 1687.

And in *January* following, in *France*, the King's Council having in a large Harangue laid the buſineſs open to the Parliament of *Paris*, where was read the *Bull* concerning the Franchiſes, and the Orders of the 26th of *December*, for the interdicting St. *Lewis*'s Church, together with the Act of Appeal, put in to a future *Council* by the King's Attorney-General; The Court of Parliament admitted of the ſaid Appeal, and declared the ſaid *Bull* and *Ordinance* as Null and Abuſive; Prohibited all perſons whatſoever to vend them in the Kingdom, on pain, of being proceeded againſt according to the ſeverity of the Law; enjoyned thoſe that had Copies of them to bring them to the Regiſter of the Court, there to be ſuppreſſed. Ordered, that the Act of Appeal put in by the Atturney-General to a future Council, ſhould be Regiſtred in the Regiſtry of the Court, and that the King ſhould be moſt humbly deſired to employ his Authority for the maintaining the Franchiſes and Immunities of the Quarter of his Ambaſſadors in the Court of *Rome*, in

the

the whole extent they had hitherto enjoy'd them. And the Kings Council having alledged, that the Pope had refuſed to grant his *Bulls* to confirm Eccleſiaſticks, which the King had nominated to vacant Benefices, ſo that a third part of the Churches of the Kingdom were deſtitute of Paſtors; the Court did further Order, that the King ſhould be moſt humbly deſired to order the holding of Provincial Councils, or even of a National Council, or an Aſſembly of the Nobles of his Kingdom, ſo to adviſe about the moſt ſuitable means for the remedying the Diſorders which the long Vacancy of ſeveral Arch-Biſhopricks and Biſhopricks, had therein introduced, and to prevent the progreſs and encreaſe of them; and in the mean while, to forbid his Subjects in ſuch manner as the ſaid Lord the King ſhould judge convenient to have any Commerce, or remit any Money into the Court of *Rome*. And this preſent Arreſt to be affix'd in the publick and uſual places of *Paris*, and every where as ſhould be needfull. Done in Parliament, the 23th of *January*, 168$\frac{7}{8}$,

Signed,

Jacques.

Hereupon in *February* 168$\frac{7}{8}$, the Pope reſolved to give Audience to ſeveral Cardinals apart, upon the differance betwixt *France* and that *See*, after this manner, (*viz.*) unto two in one day, as he ſhould name them, one in the Morning, the other in the Afternnon, and on the 15th of *February* he began with Cardinal *Cibo*, and ſo went on. And after theſe Debates he took off the Interdict of the Church of St. *Lewis*, for which *Te Deum* was ſung in that Church; and withal Cardinal *Cibo* had leave to receive from, and pay Viſits unto Cardinal *D'Eſtrees*; and all exaſperating Books and Writings, which reflected on *France* in the handling theſe Controverſies were prohibited.

In *March* following, the Pope appointed Cardinal *Cibo* to Negotiate the matter, with the Auditor of the *Rota* a *Frenchman*, who was thereto appointed by the Marquis *de Lavardine*, and the Envoy of *Venice*, then reſiding at *Rome*, was to be Mediator betwixt them: But the Pope would not grant that they ſhould make any accord, unleſs there were a previous ſurrender of the *Franchiſe*, which the Ambaſſador would not grant, and ſo it came to nothing.

1688.

In *February* 168$\frac{7}{8}$, the Pope granted leave to the *Venetians* to raiſe 40000 pound Sterling on the Clergy within their *State*; and that there might be 1000 men Enliſted, in the Eccleſiaſtical State, to help to man their Galleys of *Malta*; and prevail'd with the Duke of *Mantua* to lend the *Venetians* 500 men, all this was for carrying on the War, for as to his own Galleys

Galleys he durſt not venture to ſend them into the *Morea* this year, the ſuſpition daily encreaſing that the *French* King had a deſign upon *Italy*; it appear'd that the Marquis *de Lavardin* had not leſs than 600 Men, lodg'd in his Quarters, and it was whiſper'd that he deſign'd to make a publick Entry, maugre the Popes good will and pleaſure; beſide the French at this time fortify'd *Moniferrat* and *Cazal*. The Pope was not willing to take notice of either, that there might be no pretence for a diſguſt, yet raiſed Land Soldiers, that he might not be ſurpriz'd, and his Galleys cruiſed about *Italy*, under pretence of meeting with the *Corſairs* of *Barbary*, whereby they were near at hand, if the *French* ſhould attempt to make a Deſcent upon *Italy*.

The *Venetians* (with the aſſiſtance the Pope gave and procur'd for them) landed Men on the Iſle of *Negropont*, and took the Caſtle of *Carambaba* there, and a Fort near *Negropont*, which alſo they cloſely beſieged, and the 2_th of *Auguſt* they took the Outworks, and many very furious aſſaults were made, and divers men kill'd on both ſides, in particular 25 Knights of *Malta*; and a body of Turks were beaten that came to relieve it, but after all, the ſeaſon of the year requiring it, and the Army weakned, the 20th of *October* the Siege was rais'd, and the greateſt advantage of this years Campagne, was that the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Clin* was ſurrendred unto General *Cornaro*, General *Conningſmark*, by reaſon of ſickneſs, could not Act in the Campagne this year, and toward the end thereof dyed; and it may be remark'd that ſince he left the Field, the ſucceſs in the *Morea* never was anſwerable to what it had been, the ſeveral years whilſt he was General.

This year the Doge of *Venice* dyed, and Captain General *Moroſini* was choſen in his place, chiefly for his Merit and the Service he had done againſt the Turk.

This years Campagne in *Hungary* began with the ſurrender of *Alba Regalis* to the Imperialiſts, which had been block'd up a great while, and was ſurrendred in *May*. In it was found good ſtore of Arms and Ammunition; and it was follow'd with a very conſiderable thing, (*viz.*) An Act of Submiſſion of the Prince and States of *Tranſilvania* to the Emperour, as their Father and Sovereign, offering to deliver up their Fortreſſes unto him, and promiſing their Obedience & Aſſiſtance, provided they might have that Liberty in Religion as was heretofore granted unto them, tho' it had not been duly obſerved with them; yet upon ſome diſputes, the ſubmiſſion was not fully made till ſome time after.

The Deputies of the States of *Wallachia* concluded alſo a Treaty, to put themſelves under the Emperors Protection, ſaving their Privileges to the *Hoſpodar* or Prince, and to the States their juſt Rights.

The Duke of *Lorrain* being ill of a Feavor, orders were ſent to General *Caprara* to open the Campagne, who ſoon had the Fortreſſes and Caſtles of *Lippa*, *Solmes*, *Lugos*, *Illock*, *Bret*, *Peter-Waradin*, ſurrendred unto him, either upon Summons or approach of Forces.

In the beginning of *Auguſt*, the Elector of *Bavaria* paſs'd the *Drave*, and coming near *Belgrade*, the Turks who were there encamped, retired, and putting

4000

4000 recruits into the Caſtle of *Belgrade*, ſet fire to the outward Town, which the Imperialiſts entred, and ſoon quenched the Fire. The Caſtle made a very vigorous defence, for about 3 weeks, and then was taken by Storm, not without the loſs then and during the Siege to the Emperour of 2000 men, and to the Turks 7000. It's a place of a very great concern, being not only a ſecurity for the places already taken in *Hungary*, but is the paſſage or way for the Imperialiſts into *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Romania*, even to the Gates of *Conſtantinople*. When it was formerly in the Chriſtians hands, it was beſieged by *Amurath* the Second, in the year 1442, and by *Mahomet* the Second, 1456. without ſucceſs, but *Soyman* the Second, at length, in the year 1521. gain'd it, ſince which time, it remain'd in the hands of the *Turks* untill this time, tho' the Chriſtians had formerly made ſeveral attempts to retake it.

In the mean time, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, with the Forces under his Command, took the City of *Caſta-Novitza* and *Gradiſka*; and having notice where the Baſſa of *Boſnia* was, with about 5 or 6 thouſand men, he haſted with 4000 Horſe and Dragoons to attack him at unawares; but when he came within view he was better inform'd, and found there were a body of Turks, Horſe and Foot, conſiſting of about 15 thouſand; He then told the Officers and Forces he had, that they were miſinform'd, but that there was more danger in retreating, then in aſſailing, and they muſt now fight for their Lives; They chearfully receiv'd it, and with great courage charged the Enemy, and obtained a very great Victory, killing about 5000, and taking 2000 Priſoners, with the loſs not of above 150 of his own men; and ſuddenly after he took *Bagnaluca*, by which means all *Boſnia* was in a manner gain'd: And thus ended this years very ſucceſsfull Campagne, with the Emperours Forces; and the *Bulgarians*, and *Servians* ſent to deſire the Emperours protection, and ſome Troops to ſhelter them.

The King of *Poland*, notwithſtanding the continual aſſiſtance and encouragement he had receiv'd from the Pope, did very little in the year 1687, and in the Winter the *Tartars* made an Incurſion into his Country, and kill'd or took into Slavery (as it was computed) about 100 thouſand Souls. The King for ſhame could not ſtand looking on his Country, thus waſted and haraſſed any longer, but this year he appoints his Army to Rendezvous, and in the mean time, a body of Coſſacks, were appointed to march on to obſerve the *Tartars*, for whoſe encouragement the Popes Nuntio remitted them a good ſum of Money. In *June*, the Nuntio preſſed the King to go to his Army, according to his Agreement made with the *Muſcovites*, promiſing in that caſe to furniſh neceſſaries and pay for 3000 Horſe, beſides 30000 Crowns he had before advanced by the Popes Order, in the preparation for the Campagne. The *Tartars* began again to make Incurſions, and at length the Firſt of *Auguſt*, the King goes in perſon to his Army, and beſieged *Caminieck*; but upon the *Tartars* and *Turks* drawing near with 40 co Men, he drew off, and permitted the Enemy to put in 300 Wagons laden with Proviſions into the place; whereupon the King returned without ever giving them Battle.

In *April* 1688. The Pope gave a Diſpenſation to the Prince of *Conti*, to Marry with Madamoiſelle *de Bourbon*.

June 3. The Arch-biſhop of *Cologne* died, one of the Electors of the *Roman* Empire, whereupon the Government was *pro tempore* committed by the Chapter to the Cardinal of *Fuſtenburg*, the Coadjutor of that See; and now the Choice of an Elector was a Matter of great Conſequence, for the *French* King had in proſpect at leaſt three of the Seven in his Power, and if he could prevail to get in the fourth Place one for his Intereſt, he would be able to out-ballance the other, in caſe the Emperor ſhould dye, and there ſhould be a new Election; wherefore he uſeth all his Endeavors with the Chapter, to obtain it for the Cardinal of *Fuſtenburg*, his Creature, and cauſeth ſome Troops to advance that way to be a check upon them, and requires the *Dutch* not to intermeddle therein, or ſend Forces towards it, that the Election might be Free; though it appear'd that he only offer'd a Force upon the Electors: However, by the Pope's and Emperor's Intereſt, Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria* was ſet up alſo for a Candidate, and on the 19*th* of *July*, the Chapter proceeded to an Election, and both the Cardinal and *Clement* pretended themſelves fairly choſen, and the *French* urged that it was clear for the firſt, he having thirteen Voices, and the later having but Nine; and the Matter being in Suſpence, it was referred to the Pope, to conſider which of the two was duly elected, who referred it to a Congregation of Cardinals to be examined, and the Pope's Confirmation, purſuant to the Congregations Decree, was publiſhed in theſe words.

The Sacred Congregation, appointed for Conſiſtorial Affairs, having examined the Authentick Inſtrument, which the Canons and Chapter of the Metropolitical Church of Cologne *delivered, by their Syndick, to the Arch-biſhop of* Damaſcus, *Apoſtolick Nuntio on the* Rhine, *by which it appears, that the moſt Eminent and moſt Reverend Cardinal of* Fuſtenburg, *Biſhop of* Strasburg, *was poſtulated by thirteen of the four and twenty Canons: And the moſt Serene, and moſt Reverend* Joſeph Clement *Prince of* Bavaria, *and Biſhop of* Ratisbone *and* Friſingen, *was by virtue of an Apoſtolical Indult of Eligibility (previouſly granted him) choſen by Nine of the ſaid Canons, to be Arch-biſhop and Elector of* Cologne, *the other two Voices having been conferred on others: After a mature and moſt diligent Conſideration of the whole Matter, hath, by unanimous conſent of the Fathers, thought fit, if it ſhall ſo ſeem good to our Holy Father the Pope, that the aforeſaid Poſtulation of the Cardinal being rejected, the Election made of the Perſon of the ſaid* Joſeph Clement *be confirmed, with the Clauſe ſupplying, &c. as far as may be neceſſary. And Report hereof being made, his Holineſs favourably approved the* Sentence *of the Sacred Congregation. Given at* Rome *the* 15*th of* September, 1688.

Signed Cardinal *Cibo* Arch-biſhop of *Oſtia*.
Laurentius Caſſanus, Secretary.

Prince *Clement* being but Seventeen years of Age, the Congregation made the following *Sentence*, which the Pope confirmed.

The Sacred Congregation, for Conſiſtorial Affairs, after a mature Diſcuſſion, in what manner the Church of Cologne *may be provided for, till ſuch time as the moſt Serene, and moſt Reverend* Joſeph Clement *Prince of* Bavaria, *Canonically choſen thereunto, ſhall attain to a lawful Age, hath thought fit, if it ſhall ſo ſeem good to our Holy Father the Pope, that the Adminiſtration of the Temporalties of the ſaid Church, be given to the aforeſaid* Joſeph Clement, *and that the Adminiſtration of the Spiritualties be likewiſe committed to him, on this Condition, that he exerciſe the ſame joyntly with the Biſhop of* Hierapolis, *Suffragan and Canon of the ſaid Church, who ſhall be underſtood to be deputed to this Co-adminiſtration, during the pleaſure of his Holineſs and the Apoſtolick See. And Report being hereof made, his Holineſs favourably approved the Sentence of the Sacred Congregation.* Given at *Rome* the fifteenth of *September* 1688.

Signed as the former.

In *December* following the Emperor's Miniſter, by order of the Pope, required the Cardinal of *Fuſtenburg*, and his Party of the Canons, to own Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, as their Arch-biſhop and Elector of *Cologne*, on pain of Excommunication.) And afterward ſix of the Canons (who had taken part with the Cardinal) not appearing upon Summons of the Official of *Cologne*, were by publick Sentence deprived of their Benefices and Eccleſiaſtical Dignities.

May 7. Cardinal *Creſcentio*, and on the Ninth Cardinal *Felice Roſpigloſi* died at *Rome*; whereby there were eight places void in the College of Cardinals.

In *June* there was a terrible Earth-quake in *Naples*, and other Towns thereabout, even perceived at *Rome*; many Perſons were deſtroyed by the fall of Buildings, Palaces, and eminent Structures; A Famous Church of the Jeſuits, one of the fineſt in all *Italy* tumbled down; and the neighbouring Town of *Benevento*, was quite demoliſhed: The Pope therefore ſent large Sums of Mony, in particular 50000 Crowns unto *Naples*, for the relief of People that ſuffered by this ſad Calamity. This Earth-quake continued ſeveral days, more or leſs, with ſome Intervals; the People feared it would laſt a whole Moon, as one did in *December* 1456. and therefore many retired into the Country, in hopes of more Security, but by the violent Storms and Rain which followed the Earth-quake, ſuch ſudden Floods aroſe that ſeveral were drowned, and all People extreamly terrified by the frequent and violent Shakings of the Earth, mighty Thunder and Lightning, great Hail-ſtones. Beſides which, a Mountain alſo ſplit in ſunder, the Earth opened, and out of it iſſued black Vapors and Flames of Fire, the Sun appeared incircled with a Flame about it, the Sea (though at Calm) ſtrangely retired in, three times: All which Prodigies ſo terrified the Inhabitants of *Naples*, that ſcarcely a third part of the People remained therein.

July

July 25. being St. *James*'s day, began publick Rejoycings at *Rome* for the Birth of the Queen of *Englands* Son: There was held a Chappel of eighteen Cardinals, who assisted at High Mass; and *Te Deum* was sung with rare Musick in the English Church, which was richly adorned, and the Cardinal of *Norfolk* made great Expressions of Joy at his Palace. Sir *John Lydcot*, Agent at *Rome* then for King *James* the Second, shewed all the Demonstrations of Joy usual on such extraordinary Occasions, *viz.* A very large Picture or Emblem was set up over his Palace-gate, relating to the Subject, which consisted of an Effigies of a Child, adorned as a Knight of the *Garter*, and about it several Trophies relating to the Prince of *Wales*, Kings of *England*, and Warlike Exploits, with the then King and Queen of *England*'s Pictures on each side, and the Pope's over it: Not only the Windows of his House were illuminated, but he had divers Pots of combustible Matter flaming, set upon Posts before his House, and distributed 1100 Lanthorns, with the King's Arms upon them, to be hung up with Lights in them before the Neighbouring Houses, and a Fountain of Wine ran for three days; upon the second day he provided a whole Ox, the Belly whereof was fill'd with Fowls, *&c.* to be roasted for the common People, and entertained divers Persons of Quality in his Palace with all Rarities. The Wine and good Cheer had so fill'd the common Peoples Bellies and Heads, that they made returns with shouting and noise, so that it was said not only the Musick in the Palace was deaded by it, but the Drums, Trumpets, yea, the very Chambers and Mortars were not to be heard. The Pope was God-father to this Child (whose Baptism was defer'd to *October* 15. 1688.) and was represented by his Nuntio in *England*; for as King *James* had sent an Ambassador to complement the Pope, so the like in return was done by him, and his Nuntio made his publick Entrance at *Windsor* in the beginning of *July* 1687. but the Pope knew how to use his Mony otherwise than to be at so great Charge as the King of *England*'s Ambassador had been at in *Rome*, for his Nuntio had only four Pages, twelve Footmen and three Coaches of his own, when he made his publick Entry.

The Pope made Cardinal *Pallavicino* Legat of St. *Urban*, and upon his Creation, he is reported to have made a learned Speech in the Consistory, in relation to the Queen of *England*'s Son, and gave a piece of Mony to all that would fetch it at St. *Peter*'s Church, where there resorted about 30000 Persons.

In *August* the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Envoy Extraordinary from the King of *Great Britain*, had Audience of His Holiness.

The Pope confirmed the Election of the Baron of *Plettenbergh* to the Bishoprick of *Munster*.

1689. The Difference between the Pope and the French King not being yet composed, *April* 30. the Marquis of *Laverdin* left *Rome* and returned to *Paris* in *July* following, and the 26*th* of the same Month the Pope's Nuntio left *Paris*, in order to return to *Rome*: And the Pope's Apprehensions encreasing, that the French King might make some Attempt

on *Italy*, he made great Preparations to be in a Posture to defend himself, by daily enlisting more Men, providing Ammunition, fortifying and reinforcing his Garisons; and denying Audience to the Cardinals *d'Estrees* and *d'Este*, they and the Duke of *Savoy*'s Minister at that Court, prepared themselves for their Departure: The Pope resolved also to make use of his Spiritual Weapons, and threw his weightiest Thunderbolt, Excommunicating in the severest manner, all Persons of what Degree or Quality soever, that shall usurp, possess, or separate from the State of the Church, any part of its Lands, Dominions, *&c.* or that shall seize upon any part of its Revenue; or that shall interrupt or hinder the Commerce on the Coasts and Seas of the Ecclesiastical Estate; as likewise those who shall attempt the calling or appealing to future Councils, or that shall write against the Pope or Church. Which *Bull* was affixed at all the usual publick Places in *Rome*; and was ordered to be sent into *France*, that so that Crown might not pretend Ignorance.

At this time the French King declares War against *Spain*, and before, or since, against the Emperor and some of the German Princes; as likewise against *England*, *Scotland*, *Holland*, &c. So that though the Pope had all his Life-long laboured Peace among Christian Princes, yet now he liv'd to see them all engag'd; but he had this to solace himself with, that there was so much work cut out for *France*, that his Arms were like to be diverted from him, so that he might dye in Peace, which he did accordingly. And he had yet greater satisfaction, since he had a fair prospect, that as he had been instrumental to free a great part of Christendom from the Slavery of the *Grand Seignior*, so now he saw so many great Princes joyn'd together to rescue their Countries from the Tyranny and Usurpation of *France*, which two had design'd to share Christendom between them, and none but himself had before so couragiously and vigorously (according to the Methods of the Papal See) opposed the Encroachments of *France* as he had done: He was sensible that this was not a Religious War, as the Jesuits would insinuate, who have laboured the Exaltation of *France*, but that the French King had ravish'd something from most of his Neighbours, as well Papists as Protestants; and that none of them were able to cope with him singly, but upon any Fraction that he made with any particular Prince, he would give Laws to them, and they were forced to truckle and submit to him, who would be Judge as well as Party in all Differences betwixt them; and that it had long been his Method, that if any Princes were at Variance, to side with one of them, and force the other to a Peace upon what Terms he pleased, wherein (on pretence of his Arms assisting) he would not fail to be a considerable Gainer by the Bargain: He saw also that he never observed any Peace or Truce, (though ratified by the most solemn Oaths) further than it was for his own Interest. All these Perfidious and Tyrannical Actions the Pope detested, and therefore had he lived, would in all Probability as well have assisted the French King's Enemies, as he had done the *Grand Seigniors*.

I have

I have already given an account of what paſs'd as Matter of Fact in the Differences between the French King and the Pope, wherein ſometimes the French Allegations were more publick than the Popes, as by the Marqueſs of *Laverdin*'s Proteſtation, *&c.* for which reaſon I ſhall here inſert a ſhort Account of what was alledged on the Pope's ſide, whereby the unreaſonableneſs of the French King's Demands, will farther appear; eſpecially conſidering his pretended Zeal for the Roman Catholick Religion, and his affecting to be called the Eldeſt Son of the Church.

Firſt, That the French King was ſo far from having a true cauſe to complain of the Pope's unfair Dealings towards him, that the Pope hath ſhewed him, on divers Occaſions, the moſt effectual Marks of particular Eſteem and paternal Affection, that he might or could do without giving up the Churches Rights; whereas the Pope received from the French King and his Subjects, on his account, and by his allowance (witneſſed by his Protection of them) divers and ſeveral Injuries, Contumelies, Reproaches as well as Slights, and Oppoſitions both by Words and Writings.

Secondly, In the Matter of the *Regale*, The French King extended his Power over more than half the Churches and Pariſhes of his Kingdom, contrary to the expreſs Diſpenſation of the ſecond General Council of *Lyons*, and the immemorial Poſſeſſion and Rights of thoſe Churches, confirmed and authorized by the Acts and Ordinances of his Royal Predeceſſors, and the Sentiments and Arreſts of the Parliament of *Paris*, the Regiſters of the Chambers of Accounts, and the uniform Judgments and agreeing Opinions of the moſt famous and celebrated French Lawyers. He endeavoured to ſubject divers Monaſteries to his Nomination, where they were Elective, even to the almoſt Deſtruction of ſome of them, and where he did ſuffer others to elect, by his uncontrolable Power and abſolute Authority; he forced the Electors to chooſe whom he pleaſed, and diſinveſted the Biſhop of *Pamiers* of his Revenues, becauſe he defended the Canonical Liberty of the Church, and perſecuted the Canons and other Eccleſiaſticks, by Impriſoning and Baniſhing them, becauſe they would not obey the Schiſmatical Vicars, which the Arch-biſhop of *Tholouſe* named, in oppoſition to thoſe Canonically elected and confirmed by the See of *Rome*, with divers other Obtruſions on Religious Houſes and Churches, contrary to all Rules of Right and Juſtice.

Thirdly, He ſuffered Books Dedicated to him and Licenſed, to be publiſhed both at *Paris*, and by his Ambaſſador at *Rome*, contrary to the Apoſtolical See, and injurious to the Pope's Perſon.

Fourthly, By his Edicts he confirmed the Propoſitions made by his Aſſembly, in Derogation of the Pope's Authority, and forced them to be Regiſtred in the *Sorbon*, againſt the Doctor's Will. As to the Pope, he was always ready for an Accommodation, but that the King ever inſiſted upon having his Demands firſt accurately ſatisfied. That the Pope never refuſed his Bull of Confirmation, where the King regularly Nominated, unleſs to ſuch Perſons (of whom he is the ſole Judge) that were Court-Church-Men, and had ſigned the Propoſitions, which were Diametrically

contrary

contrary to the Apoſtolical See, or were notoriouſly Scandalous: That the Pope denied not Audience to the French King's Ambaſſador, if he would have communicated his Commiſſion to Cardinal *Cibo*, as the French King hears no Ambaſſadors, *&c.* before they have conferred with his Secretary or chief Miniſter of State; but withall the French King had never returned anſwer to the Pope's Brief touching the *Regalia*, which had been preſented eight Years before the Ambaſſador was refuſed the immediate Acceſs to the Pope he required.

And, *Laſtly*, As to the buſineſs of the Franchiſes, they have been found to be ſo great an Evil in the Government, that the Pope was reſolved to Extirpate their pretended Priviledges, and that he is the ſole Judge of what concerns his Temporal Government, and no one ought to intermeddle therein, but leave it to himſelf, who is reſolved to be Maſter in *Rome*, as other Princes are in their Dominions. And thus the Pope left theſe Differences undetermined: What may further occur therein, we muſt expect in the new Pontificate.

In the beginning of this year the Turkiſh Envoys came to *Vienna* to Treat of Peace: The Diet in *Poland* ordered an Ambaſſador to be ſent thither to Treat on their King's part, notwithſtanding the French Ambaſſador in that Court had labour'd the contrary: The *Venetians* had one there alſo, and on the twelfth of *March* 168⅞. the Emperor's Commiſſioners having before received the Envoys Propoſals, gave their Anſwer by way of Demand, *viz. That the Turks ſhould yield the Emperor to enjoy all the Countries, Towns and Fortreſſes that he had gained during the War. That* Tranſilvania *and* Wallachia, *which have put themſelves under the Emperor's Protection, ſhall be freed from the Annual Tribute they formerly paid the Port. And that Count* Teckely *be deliver'd up to the Emperor.* The Envoys declar'd they had no Inſtructions to intermeddle in the laſt Demand.

The *Venetians* demanded the Iſland of *Negropont*, and the Dutchy of *Athens*, and the Fortreſſes of *Dulcigno* and *Maona*, with all the *Morea*, and that the Turks ſhould pay the *Venetians* 400000 Ducats towards the Charge they had been at in the War.

The Poles demanded *Caminiec* to be deliver'd up to them.

The Envoys gave anſwer, That they were tied up to the Propoſitions they had made, and could not recede from them, or give any anſwer to their Propoſitions, until they had ſent to inform the Port of them; and had receiv'd thence further Inſtructions. It was diſcourſed of offering them fifty days, and that if a Peace were not after that concluded, the Envoys ſhould be ſent to *Raab*, and detain'd there during the War, in return for that the Grand Seignior had ſecured Count *Caprara*, when he reſided in quality of the Emperor's Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*: No Peace enſued, for the French Miniſter at the Port repreſented to the Divan or Council, *That his Maſter was entred into the heart of the Empire with an Army, and that he had put all the Princes and the Eſtates thereof into a great Conſternation, wherefore the Emperor had withdrawn his Forces out of* Hungary *for the defence of the Empire; and that his Maſter being now actually in War*

with

with him, the Grand Seignior would have a favourable opportunity (by continuing the War) to recover the ground he had loſt, and promiſed on his Maſters part a powerful Diverſion to the Empire. Upon which the Divan reſolved to continue the War, and gave orders for new Levies, *&c.*

As to the War againſt the Turk, little can be ſaid of it in the time I am limited to, (*viz.*) the Pope's Death; the Venetians had then made but little Progreſs in this years Expedition.

April 17. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* was appointed by the Emperor to command his Army againſt the Turks, which conſiſted of 32000 Germans, beſides Hungarians and Croats that ſhould joyn him on his march: He purſued the War with very great Succeſs.

The Tartars, in the beginning of this year, made an Incurſion into *Ruſſia*, from whence they carried a great number of People into Slavery, having defeated ſome Troops that got together in haſt, without due order or conduct to oppoſe them. And ſince I have often mentioned the Tartars and their Incurſions, take this ſhort Account of them; They are a Savage ſort of People, that have few Towns or Villages in their Country, but live for the moſt part in the Fields and Woods, removing from place to place with their Children and Cattle in great Troops or Bands, where they can find Suſtenance: They breed up Horſes with great Difficulty for their uſe, practiſing them to live two or three days without Meat or Water, ſo that in the training of them to it, they looſe many; when they go into a neighbouring Country to Pillage, they ride on one of theſe Horſes, and lead another to carry away their Plunder, or change in riding as they ſee occaſion; and for themſelves, they provide a good piece of raw Fleſh, of a Horſe or other Beaſt, and putting it under their rude Saddles, they ride upon it, and in a days time the heat of the Horſes back will have ſtew'd it ſufficiently, and then as they are hungry, they tear or draw out a piece of the Fleſh, and devour it without any Let or Hinderance in their Journeys; but they that have Milch'd Mares, ſuſtain themſelves by drinking their Milk: And thus they will, with great ſpeed, travel 2 or 300 Miles, till they meet with People or Spoil, which they take and carry away, before Troops can be aſſembled to attack them: Their Arms are only a kind of Sword or Scimiter, with which they ſpare not to cut off the Heads of ſuch as will not yield to them: When they joyn the Turk, they march in the Van, without any order, Robbing and killing as they pleaſe. Thoſe of them in *Caminiec*, this year, did often ride forth, Robbing and Spoiling the King of *Poland*'s Country, and 2000 of them brought in 300 Wagons laden with Proviſions into the Town, which did formerly belong to the King of *Poland*, and he hath often attempted (as he did this year) to regain it, but without Succeſs.

In *June* the Moſcovites met and engaged a very great Body of them, and on the place and in purſuit kill'd 3000 of them.

April 19. *Chriſtina* Queen of *Sweden* died at *Rome*. In the year 1655. ſhe renounced both her Religion and her Kingdom, ſhe had been educated in and own'd the Proteſtant Religion, but after ſhe was Queen, ſhe was perſwaded

perſwaded to change it for the Roman Catholick, and conſidering her Subjects could not bear the Propagation hereof, which her new Principles obliged her unto, ſhe reſign'd her Kingdom unto her Kinſman *Charles Guſtavus*; and apparelling her ſelf in the Habit of a Man, ſhe ſtole away, and paſſed through *Denmark* and the Lower *Germany*, and came by way of *Holland* into *Bruſſels*, where ſhe changed her Habit, and in the Privy-Chamber of the Arch-Duke *Leopold*, then Governor of the *Low-Countries*, made her ſelf and Deſign known, and on *Chriſtmas-Eve* in the preſence of him and ſeveral of his Nobles, ſhe abjur'd the Hereſies of *Luther*, and made Profeſſion of the Roman Catholick Faith. She reſolved to ſpend her days at *Rome*, where ſhe might live and enjoy her Religion in the moſt pompous and ſplendid manner, and not only delight her ſelf in the Converſation of Grave Cardinals, and Learned Men (which ſhe loved) but alſo gain Favour of the Pope, and have recourſe to him for Pardons, Indulgences, and his paternal Benediction. But the Plague raging that year at *Rome*, ſhe defer'd her Journey thither almoſt a Twelve-month, until the City and Country were reſtored unto Health. *Alexander* the Seventh was then Pope, and ſhe ſignified her Intentions to him, who gave her Licenſe to come, but deſired ſhe would make another ſolemn Abjuration at *Inſpruck*, to prepare and diſpoſe *Italy* for her more ſolemn Reception: When ſhe was on her way in *Germany*, the Pope ſent *Luke Holſtein* the Keeper of the Vatican Library, to make her Majeſty a Complement in his Name; which Perſon he thought would be very acceptable to accompany her in her Journy, being accounted one of the Learnedſt Men of that Age. When ſhe approached near *Rome*, he ſent four Nuntio's to meet her; at her entrance into the City, ſhe was met by two Legates *a Latere*, who, with a pompous Train, conducted her to the Vatican Palace, where ſhe was lodged with the Royalty appertaining to a Queen. Many and various were the Ceremonies which paſſed at the Reception of this Great Perſon; after which, on *Chriſtmas-day*, ſhe was confirmed by the Pope in St. *Peter*'s Church, who ſuperadded the name of *Alexandra* to *Chriſtina*. She continued her abode at *Rome* to the day of her Death, and out-lived that Pope, and *Clement* the Ninth and Tenth, and died a little more than a quarter of a year before *Innocent* the Eleventh, in whoſe time, by reaſon of Wars in *Sweedland*, the yearly Stipend of one hundred thouſand Crowns (which ſhe reſerved on her Reſignation) falling ſhort, he allowed her a Penſion; ſhe lived not like a mortified Woman, but in Splendo: ſo that the Biſhop of *Salisbury* in his Letter from *Rome*, of *December* 8. 1685. ſaying, That the Converſation at *Rome* is generally upon News, and though none is Printed there, yet in the Anti-chambers of Cardinals, the News of *Europe* and Reflections upon it may be had, among the Perſons that daily aſſemble there. adds, *That at the Queen of* Swedens, *all that relateth to* Germany *or the North is ever to be found; and that that Princeſs (who muſt ever Reign among all that have a true taſt of Learning or Wit) hath ſtill in her withdrawing Room the beſt Court of all Strangers, and her Civility, together with the vaſt Variety with which ſhe furniſheth her Converſation, maketh her to be the chief*

of

of all the living Rarities one ſees in Rome. Her own words to him were, *That ſhe now grew to be one of the Antiquities of* Rome. *September* 10. 1687. In compliance with the Pope's Bull about the Franchiſes, ſhe ſuffered two of her ordinary Domeſticks to be taken by the common Officers of Juſtice within the Precinct of her Palace, and carried away. In *December* before ſhe died, ſhe withdrew her Mony and Jewels out of the Mount of Piety, and depoſited them in her own Palace under a Guard.

In the beginning of *Auguſt* the Pope fell ill of an Ague, and ſometimes pains in one of his Sides, and on the eleventh day was ſo very Ill, that his Friends ſuſpected he could not hold out long; wherefore the Priſoners in the night time were removed to the Caſtle, and *Don Livio* his Nephew cauſed two Cannons and a Mortar to be removed from the Caſtle to *Villa Pamphilia*. He likewiſe cauſed to be carried out of the Palace, all the Mony that properly belonged unto the Pope and his Nephews, and took out of the Vatican all his Cloaths, and the curious Image of our Saviour preſented him formerly by the Queen of *Sweden*, and employed Carts a whole day to carry away all his Moveables, which were his own proper Goods; and alſo took away his Horſes out of his Stables.

On the Twelfth about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, he told thoſe about him, That he found the Signs of Death upon him, and therefore deſired the *Extream Unction*, which was performed accordingly.

He then ſent for the Generals of ſeveral Orders, and ſpent much of the night with them, and in the Morning Cardinal *Colrado*, Chief Father Confeſſor, gave him the Benediction in *Articlo Mortis*; afterward he called for other Confeſſors, and two Monks of each Order, who gave him their Benediction: He took Abſolution from the *Regulars*, and then recommended his Soul.

About twelve of the Clock his Fit returned more violently than formerly, and the pain on his Side ſhot up to his Back: Then again he called for the Cardinal Confeſſor to aſſiſt him at the hour of Death, and deſired him to acquaint the Sacred College, how much troubled he was, that he was not in a State to call them together; and deſired that they would ſupply his Defects in chuſing ſuch a Succeſſor as would rectifie his Miſcarriages; declaring yet, That he had never err'd willingly, and always believ'd he did well: And further requeſted, That the Mony he had left might be employed for the Eaſe of the Subject: And declar'd, That he had thoughts in the time of his Sickneſs, to take off the Tax impoſed upon Corn, but being now near his End, his Succeſſor could do it with more Honour. And thus between the twelfth and thirteenth of *Auguſt*, S.N. he departed this Life.

Cardinal *Alteri* Chamberlain, went immediately (on notice given) to his Chamber; whereupon the Standers by, calling aloud three times *Benedicto Oaeſcalchi* (according to the Cuſtom) and no anſwer being given, it was a publick Confirmation of his Death; upon which the Chamberlain took off the Fiſhers Ring, and brake it in the preſence of all, and gave the Corps to the Father Confeſſors of St. *Peter*, commanding them to reſign it up to the Canons of

the Chapel of *Paulines*, and cauſed the accuſtomed Bell to be rung out: Then the Officers of the Militia went to the Priſons and diſcharged all the Priſoners, and the ſeveral Princes, Ambaſſadors, Cardinals and Foreign Miniſters, had Guards ſet for the Security of their Palaces from the Mobile, who uſe at ſuch times to be Outragious, and in a ſhort time all concerned went into Mourning.

The Treaſurer and Commiſſioners diſpoſed of 120000 Scaddies in Alms; he left in the publick Treaſury one Million and a half in Mony. At his Death there were ten Vacancies in the College of Cardinals.

It will now perhaps be needleſs to give a Character of him, ſo many of his Actions already mentioned, better ſhewing what he was, than Mens Opinions: Only in ſhort, he was a great Prince, an Excellent Governor, a Lover of Peace and Truth, and reſolute and couragious to maintain the Rights of the Church; inſomuch, that he declared (when he was threatned by the French King) that he would look upon it as a ſpecial Grace of God, to ſuffer on that Occaſion for Righteouſneſs-ſake, and even, if there were neceſſity for it, to terminate his Life in Martyrdom: Yet he would not fail to take all thoſe Meaſures that Wiſdom and Prudence could ſuggeſt to avoid it. And certainly if the French King durſt have attempted him, he would never have brook'd thoſe Oppoſitions the Pope gave him.

It plainly appeared the Pope endeavoured all that in him lay, to reform Mens Morals, and the Succeſs was ſuch, that for many Ages the like Regularity had not been obſerved in *Rome* as was in his time: As for the Diſcipline and Worſhip of his Church, and the external Pomp and Splendor of it, he never appeared very Zealous for it, and by his favouring *Molinos*, *Petrucci*, &c. it was likely he would not have been ill pleaſed with a Reformation: But he well knew the Number and Power of the Trafficking Divines, and the Inquiſitors, and that the Diſeaſe was ſo deeply rooted in their Natures, and become ſo Epidemical, that ſharp Corroſives would but exaſperate, and the Cure muſt be the long and almoſt inſenſible work of Time, and that the courſe *Molinos* had taken, was the moſt probable way to effect it. And of the truth of this he had ſufficient Teſtimony in the beginning of his Reign, when he could not get the Bull paſſed againſt Nepotiſm, though the evil Effects of it had been ſo long manifeſt to all the World, that none could approve it, but thoſe that either were or expected to be Gainers by it. He was a Man of extraordinary Probity, and of a very ſevere and rigid Temper, which inclined him to think, as well of the *Janſeniſts* and *Quietiſts*, as he did ill of the whole Order of the Jeſuits. His way of living was very Mean and Sparing, for 'tis ſaid his Meals did not ordinarily amount to the value of a Crown a time; and this may with better reaſon be imputed to his great Abſtemiouſneſs and Temperance, than to any thing of a covetous Temper, with which I know he has been charged; though his large Contributions, for carrying on the War againſt the Turks, render him fairly excuſable as to that Point. In ſhort, his Piety and Vertue, and continual care for the common Good was ſuch, that it may be truly ſaid, *The World for many Ages has not ſeen a better Pope than* Innocent XI.

An

An ELEGY on the late Holy Father Pope *Innocent* XI.

Written by *T. D.*

STrange power of Piety, when Virtue is
So ſtrong it can diſarm our prejudice!
When Luther's *Sons* Rome's *prizeleſs loſs bemoan,*
Leſs than a Miracle can there be ſhown:
Yet ſee they Mourn, and thoſe our Doctrin bred,
Hating the Body, yet adore the Head.
This Truth, tho Ages paſt ſcarce underſtood,
Ours boldly may affirm, one Pope was Good;
Not Partial, nor to private Int'reſt ſold,
Nay, what's more ſtrange than all, not fond of Gold;
But durſt againſt the Stream of Avarice ſwim,
St. Peter's *Keys were never gilt by him;*
Nor did the Churches Biggots, till his ſway
Ever, ſo little for Salvation pay.
His mellow'd Wiſdom prop'd Rome's *tottering State,*
His moderate Judgment ſtemm'd the Clergies Hate,
Willing the Churches Variance to attone,
Rail'd not at ours, nor leſſen'd not his own.
When Heathens did in ſwarming Numbers liſt,
And War began 'twixt Mahomet *and* Chriſt;
The impriſon'd Treaſure which he then ſet free,
Shew'd him refin'd from former Papacy.
The Gold which to that Holy War he threw,
Declar'd him more than Pope, a Chriſtian too.
When France *obſerv'd him ſcourge the Infidels.*
Quite different from his Pagan Principles:
His Mother Church th' Apoſtate durſt condemn,
And ſlight her Power to make his own Supream,

Nor

Nor longer own'd Rome's *Doctrine his Souls guide,*
When its Ambition was unsatisfi'd;
This Faultless Prelate, if e'er Pope was so,
Sounded his Wiles, and Plots did overthrow,
Lent th Golden Mattock to this pious Work,
And balk'd both Pagan, and the Christian Turk,
Who slily did like snarling Blood-hound lurk,
To snap the Prey, and gorge himself alone,
When th'rest were tir'd with fighting for the Bone.
Mourn all ye neighb'ring Princes, Sigh and Mourn,
Old Rome *will now to her old Sins return;*
Her Scarlet Robe has for a time been clean,
But with new Errors, will new Spots be seen:
Now each Ambitious Cardinal Bribes high,
To fill the Conclave for the Prelacy,
Which gain'd, th inchanted Purse strait shuts as close,
As if the strings were never to unloose.
The Fish is caught, farewel Hypocrisie,
The Vizor banish'd, and the Net laid by.
Religion late was beyond Gold preserr'd,
But Profit now's the only sound is heard.
Vile Sores o'er Rome's *corrupted Body grow,*
Her Trunk is filthy, now her Head lies low:
For when as some Rich Honest Farmer Dies,
Leaving behind him Lands and Legacies,
His Brainless Off-spring by their Vice allur'd,
Destroy the Crop, which he with care Manur'd;
His Garden's Fruitless, and his Vineyard bleeds,
Th'one yields no Grapes, the other only Weeds:
So Rome, *her pious Farmer being gone,*
Is left to her lewd Race to be undone.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THere is lately Published, The Amours of *Anne* (Queen to *Lewis* XIII.) With the Chevalier *de Rosn*, the True Father of the Present *Lewis* XIV. King of *France*. In which the whole Cabal and Intriegue of Raising this Heir to the Crown is fully Detected and Exposed, together with the Engines and Instruments of that Grand Imposture. Richly adorned with a Copper Plate.

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THE LIFE AND REIGN OF INNOCENT XI. LATE Pope of ROME.

Licensed and Entred according to Order.

LONDON,
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THE

LIFE

AND

REIGN

OF

INNOCENT XI.

LATE

POPE of ROME.

TO THE READER.

THE length of the Reign of the late Pope Innocent XI. *in reſpect of the greater Number of his Predeceſſors, and the various Tranſactions that have happened in Chriſtendom in his time, and his more than ordinary concern therein, beſides what paſſed more privately in the* Conclave; *calls for a publick and particular Account to be given thereof. This I have here endeavored to perform, and can ſafely aſſure the Reader, that my Collections are taken out of very good and Authentick Writings, having purpoſely rejected ſuch, whoſe Favour or Malice might ſeem to byas their Pens to vain and fabulous Relations.*

I ſhall detain thee no longer from reading that which I hope will be more acceptable than

a long and tedious Preface, only wiſhing it may fully anſwer thy Expectations, and the Faithful Endeavours of

Thy Servant

T. L.

THE

THE LIFE Of the Late Pope Innocent XI.

INNOCENT the XI. (whose name was *Benedictus Odescalchi*) was born at *Como*, a City in the Dukedom of *Milan* in *Italy*, *Anno* 1611. his Father was called *Livio*, and his Mother *Paula Castella*, both of Noble and Patrician Families in that City, of Thirty thousand Crowns yearly Revenue, belonging to the House of *Odescalchi*. He had his Education among the *Jesuites* for Grammar and Humane Learning, and after studied the Civil and Canon Laws at *Rome* and *Naples*; and tho he was never esteemed for a Polemical Divine, yet he had the reputation of one that knew the World, and understood the nature of Mankind, and the art of Government well; being withal a Man of great sincerity and honesty, very innocent in his Life and Coversation, and discovering no inclination to side with any Party or Faction whatsoever; because he esteemed it better to be a general friend to all, than a particular one to some, while he must stand expos'd to the hatred and envy of others. These qualifications prepar'd the way to his several Advancements, and at length rais'd him to the highest dignity in the Romish Church. It is true, it hath been reported of him, that he was extreamly ignorant in all the parts of Learning, and that he scarcely understood Latin, insomuch that Cardinal *Albici*, who oppos'd his Election, should say, in the *Conclave*, to those that were for promoting him, *For the love of God, let us at least have a Pope that is so Learned, that he may be able to read the Gospel in the Mass.* But the same,

Cardinal expreſſed no greater eſteem for his Judgment, for when ſome others in his commendation ſaid, That *he digeſted things well*, he ſcurrilouſly repli'd, That *nothing could be expected from his digeſtion but a* ——. Altho the contrary hath very much appear'd, as will be found in the ſequel of this Diſcourſe.

In the time of *Urban* the VIII. he was made one of the *Prothonataries* of the Apoſtolick Chamber, and ſuddenly after *Preſident* of the ſame: he was alſo made chief *Commiſſary* for gathering the Taxes and Duties ariſing in the Province of *Marchio*, which were laid on the People at the time of the Wars in *Italy*. When this buſineſs was over, he was conſtituted Governor of *Macerata*, and the Province thereunto adjoyning. By *Innocent* the X. he was made one of the *Clarks* of his Chamber, and in the Year 1645. by him alſo made *Cardinal*; which dignity is conferred by the *Pope* only by delivery of a Paper (wherein the Names of ſuch as are to be promoted are written) into the Conſiſtory of *Cardinals*, with theſe words *Habetis fratres*.

The Romaniſts ſay, That St. *Peter* conſtituted a College of twenty four *Presbyters*, with Authority to decide and determine matters of difficulty ariſing in the Church; theſe in the time of Pope *Sylveſter* the I. were called *Cardinals* or Princes in the Church. *Innocent* the IV. at the Council of *Lions* beſtowed upon them the red Hat, as a mark or badge of their Dignity; anciently theſe were a check upon the *Pope*, and a ſort of a Council without whom he could do nothing in *Temporals*; yet now they have quite loſt that, and they have no other ſhare in affairs than that to which the *Pope* thinks fit to admit them. It is true as to *Spirituals* they retain ſtill a large ſhare, ſo that in Cenſures and Definitions the *Pope* can do nothing regularly without their concurrence; tho ſome think they have not ſo good a Title to that as to ſhare in the Temporal *Principality*. For if the *Pope* derives any thing from St. *Peter*, all that is ſingly in himſelf, and how elſe, alſo, can the Infallibility (ſo much pretended to) reſt in him? yet becauſe there was not ſo much to be gotten by acting arbitrarily in thoſe matters, and a ſummary way of exerciſing this Authority, might have tempted the World to have enquired too much into the grounds on which it is built: Therefore the *Popes* have let the *Cardinals* retain ſtill a ſhare in this ſupremacy over the Church, tho they have no claim to it either by Divine or Eccleſiaſtical Warrant, further, at leaſt, than within the City and Dioceſs of *Rome* where they were Presbyters, if that be true of Saint *Peters* conſtituting ſuch a College of them to aſſiſt him in the Government of that Church. But as for the endowments of the See of *Rome*, to which they may juſtly lay claim, as being in a manner the Chapter of that See; there is ſo much to be got by this, that the *Popes* have engroſſed it wholly to themſelves and to gratifie and advance their Creatures by. However the *Cardinals* are great *Princes*, make a conſiderable Figure in *Rome*, and reſpect is paid them accordingly; and that People might do it, as they paſſed in the *City*, a Bell uſed to be rung before them, that all might know them; but this

this hath been left off, their Purple and Equipage sufficiently notifying them.

There are three different Classes of *Cardinals*, *viz.* six entituled *Cardinal* Bishops, fifty *Priests*, and fourteen *Deacon-Cardinals*.

In the Year 1631. That the Grandeur of the Apostolical Chair might be advanc'd Pope *Urban* VIII. bestowed the title of Eminence upon them, and it was entred into the Records of the Congregation of Ceremonies, That they should be styl'd *Most Eminent and most Reverend*.

But to return to our *Cardinal*; He had presently the *Deaconry* of the Saints *Cosma* and *Damianus* bestowed upon him; and taking *Priests* Orders, he had the title conferr'd upon him of St. *Onuphrius*, and by *Innocent* X. sent *Legate* to *Ferrara*, wherein he acquitted himself with honour, and was made *Bishop* of *Noverase*, where he resided for some years, but afterwards removed through dislike of the Air. And being at *Rome* he was employ'd in many affairs of the Church, and appointed to serve in divers Congregations of *Cardinals*, and made *Protector* of several *Colleges* and *Monasteries*; in all he behaved himself with singular prudence, modesty and vertue, which with the Endowments before mention'd were good Ingredients to capacitate him for the *Papal Chair*, to which (as we shall shew) he was Elected the 21*st* of *September* 1676. and was Crowned with the usual Ceremonies on the 4*th* of *October* following.

But before we come to shew his *Election*, it will not be impertinent to set forth the manner of Electing *Popes*, being a thing in it self not only worth the Reading, but also relating so nearly to this History that it might seem imperfect without it.

Popes were anciently chosen by the *Nobility*, *Clergy* and *People* of *Rome*, tho the Book of Sacred Ceremonies used in the Church of *Rome* tells us, *That Saint* Peter *named* Clemens *to be his Successor, if it seem'd good to the* Senators, *that is, the* Presbyters, *who were twenty four, appointed by Saint* Peter *before his death, to determine matters of difficulty in the Church, and that they chose* Linus, *whereby it might appear that* Popes *had not right to Elect their Successors; that afterward, Schisms and Dissentions arising among the Senators, the Clergy and People of* Rome *were present at the Elections, but had no voice; and that after this the force and violence of the* People *was such, that they would have a Voice, and joyned in their Votes. This popular way of Election, caused such heats and disturbances, that the* Emperors *were constrained, for keeping the Peace, to interpose by their Authority, and order'd that no Election should stand good, until it was confirmed by the* Imperial *approbation.* Charles *the great assumed the Power of Electing, or, which is all one, of confirming of Popes.*

The truth is, as the Power was, sometimes the *Emperors* made *Popes*, and sometimes the *Popes* made *Emperors*.

Some Emperors, *after* Charles's *time, transferred the Election wholly to the Roman* Presbyters, Clergy *and the* People; which the *Romans* would have to be done out of Piety, because the *Pope* was to be a Shepherd to the *Emperor*.

This popular manner of Election produced Parties, Schisms and Contentions, which often ended with blood, so that there was scarce a regular Election for some years; the strongest possessing the Chair till he was undermin'd by another, so that there were often two or three Popes at one time, *and a great many in a few years, until* Nicholas II. *Anno* 1051. *to prevent the Confusion which happened at every* Popes *death, did establish a* Law, *that the Elections should wholly rest in the* Cardinals, *which Law or Canon was since confirm'd by* Popes *and* Councils. *And as a rule to be observed herein,* Alexander III. *instituted at a general* Council, *that he only should be esteemed to be Canonically Elected, who was chosen by at least two thirds of the* College *of* Cardinals.

This Power of Election hath ever since rested in the *Cardinals*, who appoint *Octaves* for solemnizing the Funeral of the deceased *Pope*, and have on the ninth or tenth day after entred the *Conclave* to proceed to a new Election.

The *Conclave* is held in the *Vatican* Palace, where, in a long Gallery, are erected small Apartments or Cells, made of Boards covered with Purple Cloth, for every *Cardinal*, whereby they may have convenient conference one with another. It has been endeavour'd in a hot season (because the *Vatican* is ill air) to Elect in another place, but none was found convenient. Each *Cardinal* hath two Servants, and no more, to attend him, which are called his *Conclavists*, unless in case of sickness or infirmity, and then three may be admitted.

The *Cardinals* being entred, the *Conclave* is strictly guarded by the City *Militia*, to hinder all commerce or intercourse by Letters from without. The *Gallery* is also very closely watched, being kept by a *Master* of the *Ceremonies*, who inspects their Meat, lest any Letters be conveyed with it. According to this first Institution, for the first three days the *Cardinals* have free use of divers dishes of Meat; whilst they are eating or doing any thing else in their Cells, the outward Curtains are to be open, and undrawn, unless in the Night when they sleep, or at other time repose themselves, and then great care is taken that no noise or disturbance be given.

It hath been customary of late years for the *Cardinals* to premise certain particular Points, or Articles, necessary for the Government of the Church, which are subscribed by the whole *Community*, and every one takes an Oath to observe them, in case he should prove to be the person chosen, and promoted to the Pontifical Dignity. After which matters are performed they proceed to an Election.

There have been three ways used in the Election. 1. By Scrutiny. 2. By Access. 3. By Adoration. The Scrutiny is, When every Person writes in a Schroll of Paper, the Name of that Person whom he gives his Voice for, folding it into five several Pages or Colums; on the first of which he writes these words, *Ego eligo in Summum Pontificem Reverendissimum Dominum meum Cardinalem* —— which is written by the hand of the *Conclavist*, that the Cardinal may not be discovered by his own writing. On this Fold two others are doubled down, and some Wax dropped thereon, and sealed with some private Seal, made for that purpose. On the Fourth, the *Cardinal*

dinal writes his own Name, and covers the same with the Fifth Folding. Then all the *Cardinals* sitting in their order on Benches in the Chappel, with the Schrolls they have prepared in their Hands, take their turns to ascend to the Altar, before which a Table is placed, covered with a Purple Cloth, and a Chalice with a *Patina*, or Plate set thereon; on the right side of which sits the first *Cardinal Bishop*; and on the left, the first *Cardinal Deacon*; then every one kneeling makes a short Prayer, and arising, puts his Schroll into the *Chalice*; which being done, and all the *Cardinals* returned to their Places; the first *Cardinal Bishop* takes the *Chalice* with his Right Hand, and turns out all the Schrolls upon the *Patina*, or Plate, which he holds in his Left Hand; then setting the *Chalice* again on the *Altar*, he takes the Schroll which comes first to hand, and gives it to the *Deacon Cardinal*, who reads it with an audible Voice, the *Cardinals* noting with their Pen and Ink, or Table-Book, how many Voices every Person hath; and the Papers being read, the Master of the *Ceremonies* comes in with a Pan of Coals, and burns all the Papers or Schrolls, so that no Man is known for whom he gave his Vote. In case any Person hath gained two thirds of the number there present, then the Election is good, and he is presently declared *Pope*; and this way is most commonly practis'd in the choice of *Popes*. When by reason no one hath two thirds, the Election is not determined, its then tryed by *Access* in this manner: All the *Cardinals* sitting in their Places, one arises and goes to the *Cardinal* he would have elected, and saith, *Ego accedo ad reverendissimum Dominium meum*——— and so all the rest, the which is noted by the *Cardinals*, both the Names of those that made the Access, and the Persons to whom. If two thirds agree in their Access to one Person, then the Election is determined; if not, then the next day they proceed again to Scrutiny, for it cannot be made twice in one day.

The third way, by *Adoration*, is almost like that of Access: The *Cardinal* approaching him whom he desires to have created *Pope* with a profound Reverence and low Obeisance: But both the Access and Adoration are to be proved, if they hit, and confirmed by the Scrutiny, wherein they often differ from what they did by the former, and so make it Null.

There was anciently another way of Election, which was called *Compromise*; and it was when the Divisions were high, and scarce determinable by the Conclave, that then the *Cardinals* with common consent refer'd all their Votes to the choice of three or five *Cardinals*, giving them Power to elect any Person, whom all or the Major part should chuse, obliging themselves to rest satisfyed with the Choice made by them, provided, That their Election were concluded while a Candle did last burning; and if Election were made in that time, the Person so chosen was acknowledged *Pope* by all the rest; but in the choice of Commissioners, every Cardinal must agree.

There is another way of Election, called *by Inspiration*, that is, When the Cardinals are assembled in the Chapter, and every one hath taken his Place according to his Degree and Order: Then the first Bishop Arises, and in a short Speech exhorts the Fathers to provide such a Person for Govern-

Government of the Church, as by his Wiſdom and Sanctity may be capable to ſuſtain ſo great a burden. Then he demands of them the manner by which they intend to proceed, whether by Compromiſe or Scrutiny; telling them, if his Opinion or Vote might prevail, he would chooſe no other than ——— and accordingly did elect him for *Supream Biſhop*, and *Head* of the *Univerſal Church*. If all then preſent, without one oppoſing, did agree, this was looked on as by Inſpiration, and he was then without further Trouble or Scrutiny canonically Elected, which was anciently frequently practiſed.

The *Pope* being legally choſen by any of the foregoing Methods, he is conducted into the *Sacriſtia*, or Veſtry; where, being diſrob'd by the *Cardinal Deacons* of his own Habit, he is cloathed in his *Pontificalibus*, or Papal Veſtments; and being thence brought forth, with his Mitre on his Head, adorned with Gold and Jewels into the Chappel, is Seated on the *Altar*; where the Cardinals perform the Ceremony of Adoration to him, every one in his Order, kiſſing his Feet, Hands and Mouth.

While theſe Ceremonies are performing, all the Doors and Gates of the *Conclave* are opened; at which a multitude of People appearing, the Pope ſhews himſelf, and bleſſeth them. And then the firſt *Cardinal Deacon* proclaims with a loud voice theſe words to the People, *Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum, Papam habemus: Reverendiſſimus Dominus Cardinalis ——— Electus eſt in Summum Pontificem, & elegit ſibi nomen*——— This being ſaid, the *Pope* deſcends into St. *Peter's* Church, the *Cardinals* leading the way with a Groſs born before them; and going directly to the High Altar, he takes off his *Mitre*, kneels and prays a while, and then returns Thanks to God, and the Bleſſed Apoſtles; and riſing, ſeats himſelf on the *Altar*; and the firſt Biſhop kneels and ſings *Te Deum*. And then again the *Cardinals* perform the Act of Adoration as before, which, with the ſhort Office for that Solemnity being finiſhed, the *Pope* again bleſſeth the People; and in the ſame Order they return to his Apartment, where he takes his Repoſe, and the Cardinals go to their reſpective Lodgings.

The Pope ever ſince *Sergius's* time (who was the firſt that did it) *Anno* 843. change their Baptiſmal Name for ſuch other as liketh them beſt. This *Sergius's* Name was *Bocca di Porco*, or *Hog-ſnout*, which for ſhame he changed; and ſo it hath continued ever ſince, unleſs ſome few that would not do it. Others give a more favourable Account, *viz.* That his Name was *Peter*, and out of his profound reſpect to that great Apoſtle, he would not bear his Name in the Chair.

Generally there are great Intriegues and Diviſions about the Elections of *Popes*, partly occaſioned by the endeavours that Great Princes uſe to have one of their Friends or Favourites ſet up; and partly through the aſpiring of the Cardinals unto the Chair, where they are not only great themſelves, but ſeldom fail (though their Reign be ſhort) to raiſe their Families exceedingly; ſo that many of the great Houſes in *Italy* are beholden for their Fortunes to the Favour and Bounty of the Biſhops of *Rome*, who did originally advance them to ſuch Places of Truſt and Employments,

ployments, whereby they gained that State and Dignity they, or their Poſterities now enjoy; and conſidering how ſhort a time they may have to make their Fortunes, which generally depends on the uncertainty of an Old Man's Life, the People are heavily oppreſſed, all Preferments beſtowed upon them that will give moſt, and the Welfare of the Commonweal lightly regarded; ſo that the People are become extreamly miſerable that live in the *Pope*'s Dominions.

It is time now to return to the principal Subject of this ſhort Hiſtory.

Clement X. having breathed his laſt, *Altieri* the *Cardinal Chamberlain* gave Notice thereof to the Chief Officers of the Houſhold; whereupon all the Prelates and Grooms of the Bed-chamber in decent and mourning Habits repair to the Palace of *Monte Cavallo*, and found their late Maſter laid upon a Pallet, covered with Crimſon Velvet: In their Preſence *Altieri*, whoſe Office it was to do it, brake the *Sigillum Piſcatorium*, or the *Pope*'s Seal in pieces, which is preſently done, to prevent the uſe of it after his Death. The Notaries of the *Camera* took an Inventory of the Goods found in the Palace, which remain to his Succeſſor; and therefore when a Pope draweth near his end, his Relations carry away and poſſeſs themſelves of what they can, during his Life.

The Body of the *Pope* was then deliver'd to thoſe who were to embalm it; and then the Bell of the *Capitol* was rung out, that the City might all be aſſur'd of his Death.

During the time that the Funeral Obſequies were Solemnizing, the *Cardinals* began to work in forming Parties againſt the Election. The Second of *Auguſt* ſeveral Cardinals aſſembled in St. *Peter's*, and two by two in grave Order, in form of Proceſſion, entred the *Conclave*; more coming in next day, they make up the number of Fifty Two; and on the Third of *Auguſt* the Conclave was ſhut, and Guards ſet by the Marſhal of the Conclave. On the Fourth the Maſs of *Veni Creator* was ſung, and the *Cardinals* began the choice by way of Scrutiny.

The Perſons nominated were *Vidone*, *Barberigo*, *Odeſcalchi*, *Spinola*, and *Cerri*, wherein appeared near an equality of Votes; *Odeſcalchi* had Eleven, but proceeding towards the Evening by way of Acceſs, Seven only drew unto him.

On the Sixth day a ſecond Scrutiny being made, *Corſini* had 27 Votes, and at the Acceſs in the Evening 14 only appeared for him: However *Chigi*, who managed it for him, did not doubt of carrying it, till Cardinal *Nitardo*, Ambaſſador for *Spain*, oppoſing it, drew off the *Spaniſh* Party, and the Grand Duke of *Corſini*'s Faction followed.

Chigi then endeavours to gain the *French* Party, but was countermined by *Altieri*, and the *Flying* Squadron; things appearing thus, a Party of *Cardinals* united, being called the *New Squadron*, who pretended Zeal for the Church, and to be ſolely moved by a Principle of Piety to promote one eminent for Learning and Wiſdom, without regard to Secular Intereſt. Cardinal *Pravina* was a chief among theſe, and at his firſt entrance into the

the Conclave had fixed upon our *Odeſcalchi*, for whom he uſed all his Endeavours, and would not be drawn off; and Scrutiny being again made, he had ſo wrought, that 36 Voices were in his Favour, enough to ſecure the Election; inſomuch that it was given out, That the Election was made, and People came flocking to the Gates; ſo that the Guards were doubled to keep off the Crowd, who preſſed into the Precincts of the *Conclave*. Yet at the Acceſs ſome fell off; for *Altieri* and *Chigi* laboured underhand, ſeducing ſome in hopes of being preferr'd: The *Spaniards* alſo were willing (on further conſideration) to ſpin out the time of giving a final dermination, expecting to hear from the Court of *Spain*.

The *French* Cardinals were chiefly for *Roſpiglioſi*; but in caſe his Intereſt ſhould fail, they approved beſt of *Odeſcalchi*; who, though he were a Subject of *Spain*, yet his Vertues and ſincere Intentions reconciled him to well-meaning Men, and made others ſhy of oppoſing him, unleſs they could carry it as their reſpective Intereſts lead them, which none elſe could form a Party to do; becauſe the *New Squadron* (who were firm to him) were 16 in number, and with their Adherents could always make above a third part, which was enough to prevent any other of his Complement, though they could not carry it themſelves.

Barberin and *Chigi* had a Negotiation for *Jachenetti*, that ballanced the *New Squadron*, and were probable to ſucceed; for on Scrutiny he had 22 Votes; but on Acceſs in the Evening, 11 only: Whereupon the *New Squdron* renewed the Scrutiny, and found 29 in their *Candidate*'s favour. By theſe ſeveral Scrutinies it appeared the *Conclave* were inclined moſt to *Odeſcalchi*, which again occaſioned a rumour in the Town, That he was choſen; and the other Parties finding they could not prevail, were likely to joyn; and indeed the *Conclave* had then proceeded to have compleated the Choice, and by Acceſſion created him *Pope*, had not the Cardinal *d' Eſtree* ſuſpended the Proceedings by a Requeſt made, *That their Eminences would for ſome time ſuſpend their final determination, until the Arrival of ſome* French *Cardinals, who, by that Kings Order, were on their Journey towards the Conclave; which*, he ſaid, *was not to hinder the choice of ſo worthy a Perſon, for whom he alſo concurr'd, but that his Chriſtian Majeſty might have opportunity thereby to joyn with them in ſo ſacred an Election, by the conſent and approbation which he was ready to yield unto.*

The *Conclave* in the mean time would be practiſing, and ſet up others; every one being willing to leave no ſtone unturn'd that might any wiſe conduce to advance one to the Chair, that they propos'd to themſelves Intereſt in, or at leaſt to gain it by being the Inſtruments for their Advancement. *Azzolino* promoted *Conti*, whoſe Intereſt being ſmall, he with *Chigi*, the Spaniſh Party, and the Great Dukes, ſets up *Piccolomini*; and to allure *Altieri*, engaged to advance his Friend *Bichi* to be *Cardinal Nephew*; but *Altieri* had other deſigns; *Chigi* failing herein, ſets up *Spinola*, but no more than 7 Votes could be procured in his Favour on the Scrutiny. Then ſome propos'd *Creſcentio*; but the Duke *d' Eſtree*, Ambaſſador for the French King, eſteem'd him an Enemy to *France*, where-

by

by that Party was too great for his Promoters: Then on a new Scrutiny *Odeſcalchi* had 14 Voices, *Carpegna* 7. *Alberici* 9. *Gaſtaldi* 9. *Albici* 5. and *Creſcentio* 3.

After this manner divers deſigns and Intreagues were working, till the arrival of the four French *Cardinals*, which was the 13*th* of *Auguſt*, and then a ſpeedy Election was expected; but thoſe hopes were ſoon blaſted; for ſtill they were embroiled, and *Arbritio* by the dextrous management of *Altieri* and others, was in a fair way; but the ſeveral deſigns of others were enough to oppoſe any one, that ſtill they thwarted, and no one party could gain his Complement.

On *September* 1. the French Cardinals entred the *Conclave*, with a great train and concourſe of People after them, crying out for a ſpeedy Election, and naming *Roſpiglioſi* and *Odeſcalchi*. And the French Party ſeem'd to encline to the later. But their King being greater in the *Conclave*, as well as in other Princes Councils, they would not joyn a ſufficient number to conclude the matter, until they had his approbation; and an expreſs is ſent with their Informations, and for Inſtructions; and ſo ſtill the time was delayed, and the *Cardinals* began to quarrel among themſelves on ſlight matters, ſince they could not carry their deſigns in the greater, nor ſo well vent their Gaul about it. *Colonna* and *Maldachino* could not refrain giving one another ſuch reproachful Words, as *Fool* and *Beaſt*, upon a ſmall account; but with others concerned in it, grew a conteſt between *Buglion* and *Howard*, for that the former had not return'd a Viſit that the latter had made him. *Buglion*, to excuſe himſelf, frankly told him, *That it was the King's expreſs Command not to acknowledge the Cardinals of the laſt promotion.* *Howard* would not allow his Excuſe, alledging divers particular reſpects that the French King had made him, and cauſed him to be treated in all parts of *France*, as he paſſed through it from *London* to *Rome* as a Cardinal; and now the others of the ſame promotion joyn him; but the French oppoſing, the *Conclave* feared that diſorder and confuſion would enſue, and therefore procured the French Cardinals to ſubſcribe a Letter to their King, beſeeching him to give Orders to his Embaſſador and Cardinals to viſit and own thoſe Cardinals of *Clement* the Tenth's Promotion, which otherwiſe might cauſe a Schiſm, and many Inconveniences to the whole *Conclave*, to the diſturbance of the preſent affair, until Anſwers were return'd to the Diſpatches. Such an Aſcendent had this Monarch (though at ſuch diſtance) over this great Council, that though they pretend to the Conduct of God's good Spirit, and ſing the *Veni Creator*, yet the Spirit of *France* muſt direct them, that they would not joyn in an Election till they heard thence; which, though by making Parties they could ſomewhat obſtruct, yet they could not prevail for any other, and in divers Scrutinies it was always moſt favourable for our *Odeſcalchi*; and though they muſt waſte time for his Anſwers, yet they could not be free from Trials of Skill, and made ſeveral Scrutinies in favour of *Maſſini*, *Cerri*, *Jachinetti*, and others, in which, though there was fervor and ardency in the intereſted Perſons, yet the favour of the whole Conclave was faint and inſignificant; ſo that for a long time many paid

reverence and respect to *Odescalchi*, as the only man who was likely to carry it.

The Courier return'd from *France* on the 19*th* of *September*; on the 20*th* the Ambassador was introduced into the *Conclave*, who presented his Majesty's Letters, and in an eloquent Speech represented the necessity of a speedy Election, (*though the delays had been procured by him*) the present concern of *Christendom*, not bearing the inconvenience of an *Interregnum*, or a Vacancy in that Government: That they had an ample Field for their Election, the College of Cardinals consisting of so many vertuous Persons, all fit to Reign. Yet considering the Vicar of Christ ought to transcend in all the Vertues and Graces of Religion, to be such an one as would reform the Abuses and Corruptions, which to the Scandal of the Christian Church, were crept into the Court of *Rome*; if there was any one that did excel others for a publick Spirit, sincere, and disinterested, he ought to be the Man, and did (though without naming) decipher the very Person of *Odescalchi*. And having praised and applauded *Barberino*, and giving God thanks for the great Piety and Zeal of that Man, he retired, leaving the Conclave to their Election, after he had delivered forth the Inspiration from *France*, which the Major part received, and therefore now there was no difficulty to be expected.

That Evening a great number of Cardinals went to the Cell of *Odescalchi*, and gave him the kiss of Covenant, who with Tears in his Eyes desir'd them to find a Subject more fit, and able to bear such a Load and Burden of so great weight, and shewed some unwillingness and reluctancy; but being overcome by Arguments and Entreaties, he consented, on condition, they would assent unto, and subscribe certain Articles for reformation of Ecclesiastical Government, which he then proposed to them; which the Cardinals approving, a great part Subscribed it that Night, and swore to maintain them, as did the others in like manner the day following.

By this time *Altieri*, (who had all along been the Intreaguing Man) finding it was a folly to contend any longer, became the forwardest of any to make the Scrutiny, and had Nineteen of his Creatures to follow him. The Choice was therefore immediately determined by Access; and on the 21*st* of *September*, 1676. the whole *Conclave*, with one Voice and Mind, declared *Odescalchi* to be the Pope of *Rome*, and the Vicar of Christ, and the true and undoubted Successor of *St. Peter*. And then the Dean of the College, according to his Duty, lead the way to Adoration, and the other *Cardinals* followed, according to their Places and Seniority.

He was next vested in his *Pontificalibus*, and took the name of *Innocent* XI. in remembrance of his Benefactor *Innocent* X. (as some others have us'd to do, bestowing likewise their Cap on some relation to such their Benefactor). Then he was conducted to the Chappel with the usual Ceremonies, and at the Altar received the second time Adoration. After which the Master of the Ceremonies demanded, Whether it were his Holiness's pleasure, that the Nobility attending without, desirous to kis his Feet, should be admitted in, to pay that duty and devotion which they

they owed to Saint *Peter*? which being granted, the *Queen* of *Sweden* was first introduced to pay her devoir; and then the Embassadors of the Crowned Heads, and after them the *Princes*, *Prelates* and *Nobles*, who kissed his Feet, testifi'd their great joy for so worthy a Man's being advanced to the Papal Chair.

After which a door was opened over the great Porch of Saint *Peter's* Church, into which the Master of the Ceremonies led the way, carrying a Cross before the new *Pope* and *Cardinals*, which the People (tho at great distance) reverenced, and the *Cardinal Deacon*, presenting the *Pope* before them, pronounced with a strong voice the accustomed words, *Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum: habemus Pontificem Eminentissimum & Reverendissimum Dominum, Cardinalem Benedictum Odescalchum, qui sibi nomen imposuit Innocentii* XI.

Great Joy the City expressed on this *Popes* advancement, and demonmonstrated it by ringing Bells, firing Cannon, vollies of Small shot, Drums and Trumpets; and the Soldiers seized the Coach, Horses, and Coach-mans Cloak as their Fees. The Popes resentment during the Ceremonies, and singing *Te Deum*, was rather Pensiveness and Mortification than Joy or Lostiness, which many of his Predecessors could not conceal, and it was observ'd that he blessed and crossed the People with tears in his Eyes.

He was Elected the twenty first of *September* 1676. and Crowned the fourth of *October* following, with the usual Ceremonies; and as you had an account of the manner of Elections, it will not be amiss here to lay down the form and manner of the Coronation of Popes.

The whole Ceremony takes up a days time, and for refreshment (the better to support the labour and toil) in the midst of the day the Cardinals take a short repose, and it is but necessary, considering their years, most being aged Persons, and sometimes it happens in a hot season; it is remembred of one Pope, that the toyl thereof cost him his life.

It would be tedious to set down or read every particular Ceremony, I shall therefore only give a summary account, yet omitting nothing that is material.

In the Morning early the *Pope* goes from his Bed-chamber into the Chamber called *Papagalli*, where he is clothed by the *Cardinal-Deacons*, *Sub Deacons*, and other Officers, with a white *Cassock* girt about with a long *Girdle*: Over it he wears his *Stole* and *Pluvial*, or a robe of a Scarlet colour, with a rich *Mitre* on his head, set with many pretious Stones In this Habit, having the train of his *Robes* carried up by the *Emperor*. or some *King* then present, or in their absence by one of the chiefest, *Princes* attending at the Ceremony; a Canopy of State over his Head supported by Eight *Ambassadors* or *Nobles*, and the *Cardinals* in their Habits walking before with a Cross for their Banner, they orderly proceed to Saint *Peters* Church: where being entred, and having laid aside his *Mitre*, and prayed a while, he arises and goeth into the Chappel of Saint *Gregory*, by some called Saint *Andrew*, and being sat in a Chair placed

there for that purpose; he receives all the *Cardinals* with their Caps on their Heads to kiss his Hand, and other Prelates his Feet: Then the *Pope* arising stands up and blesseth the People. After which the *Sub-Deacon* reads the Epistle, and all the rest of the Office for the Coronation, which being performed, the *Pope* vests himself with the *Pontifical* habit, according to the method prescribed in this case. By ancient constitution it belonged only to the *Bishop* of *Hostea* to Consecrate the Pope; of late years the first *Cardinal Bishop* performs that function: in Consecrating a *Pope*, he is anointed with Oyl on his Head, and the Palms of his Hands; *his Consecration is not always the day of his Coronation.* This *Preludium* being over, and the *Pope* himself having celebrated *Mass*, he goes to the stairs ascending to the Altar of Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul*, where a Throne is erected for him, on which being seated, and encompassed by his *Prelates*, and the People order'd to keep distance; the *Dean-Cardinal* takes the *Mitre* off the *Popes* Head, and placeth it on the left Hand, and having the *Triple-Crown* ready, he sets that on his Head, the People crying out *Lord have mercy upon us.*

Then the Dean publisheth the Pardons and Indulgences which the *Pope* grants them, proclaiming them on the right Hand in Latin, on the left in the vulgar Language; *So the People pray and the Pope answers them.*

The *Pope* and his *Cardinals* then go and dine at the Palace of the *Arch-Presbyters* of Saint *Peters*, and the other *Prelates* at the Houses of the *Canons.* After Dinner, the *Cardinals* mount their Mules, and the *Pope* his Horse, and march in solemn Procession to the *Lateran*, attended with a very great Train of the Nobles and Officers in due rank and order; the *Pope* being alighted, is met by the chief *Canon* of the Church, who offers the Cross to be kissed by him, which the *Dean-Cardinal* taking from his Hands, holds to the *Popes* Mouth: Then they take the *Triple Crown* from off his Head, for the burden of it, (consisting of Gold and Jewels) is too heavy for an old Man to bear long, and deliver it to the custody of the Auditor of the *Rota*, and the *Mitre* is again placed on the *Popes* Head: Then he is conducted to the *Sedes Stercoraria*, on which he seems rather to lye then to sit, from which he is honorably raised by the *Cardinals*, and this Hymn is sung. *He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and hath exalted the humble and meek*; (tho some have been the proudest Men in their Age.) *He hath raised the needy from the dust, that he may set him among the Princes of his People:* tho he were never so rich a Prince before.

After this several short Ceremonies are perform'd, and Adoration again paid by the *Cardinals* and *Prelates*; and by this it is Evening and the *Pope* returns to his Palace of *Monte Cavallo*; commonly, sufficiently tired with the Fatigues of the Day.

The buisness the French Cardinals came for being over, they prepare for their return; and if the *French* King had then known how this *Pope* would have acted, they would have had no thanks for their labour, as will sufficiently appear in the sequel of this History. But to make all fair with the

the Court of *Rome*, before their departure, they (by the *Kings* Order) paid their Visits to the *Cardinals* of the last Promotion, and so a good Correspondence was renewed and established.

The Pope no sooner enter'd upon the affairs of Government, but he cast in his thoughts how to work a Reformation of several abuses and grievous Corruptions that were both in the Court and Church of *Rome*: For the later the Power and Interest of the Trafficking Religious, whose chief gain lies in the Corruptions of the Christian Religion, he had little hopes of doing much in it, at least wise at his first entrance, and if ever he could it must be gradually effected: But as to his Court, that lay in his own Power, and therefore in the first place he declares against *Nepotism*, and refused to receive his Nephew *Don Livio* into any part of the Government, forbidding him to receive or return Visits under the notion of Nephew to the *Pope*. Had a *Pope* a mind to flatter or gain upon the Clergy and People of *Rome*, he could not have pitcht upon one thing so much to oblige them: For these *Nephews* having the management of the affairs, bestow'd all Benefices, Offices, *&c.* on them that bid most, exercising a Tyrannical Power over great and small, rich and poor, for the agrandizing themselves and heaping up riches for their posterities; tho for that end they also exhausted the Treasure of the Apostolical Chamber, without any regard to the Weal-publick, or the oppression of the People, or damage the Church sustain'd. But it was hop'd this *Pope* did it in sincerity, which made it the more grateful. And that his Nephew might not complain of the severity of his Uncle, and look upon himself more unfortunate than any had been, who were so nearly allied to the Papal Chair, he relinquish'd unto him, in present, all his Temporal Estate, amounting unto thirty thousand Crowns of yearly Revenue.

He was not satisfi'd in denying himself that in which his Predecessors were extreamly solicitous, I mean their advancing their Kindred and *Nephews*, (many of their Families being still known by the Princes they advanced) but to continue it to Posterity, he drew up a *Bull* perpetually to abrogate *Nepotism*, which yet he could never procure the *Conclave* to pass, tho it hath been long experienced to be grosly scandalous among them; so hard a matter it is to reform *Rome*, so that he hath only left his Example and Endeavours herein to be admired by Posterity. I have here inserted it in English as followeth,

The Minutes or preparation of a Bull *which our most holy Father* Innocent XI. *was about making, for the moderating some abuses in the Apostolick See.*

Innocent Pope, Servant of the Servants of God, for a perpetual memory hereof.

HAving often considered in our mind, that the holy Synod of Trent, *treading in the steps of the holy* Fathers, *does altogether forbid, that any one should study to enrich their Relations or Friends, out of the Revenues of the Church; and doth admonish them as much as may be, that they absolutely lay aside all worldly affections to* Brothers, Nephews, *and other of their kindred, which has occasioned many mischiefs in the* Church. *And the same holy Synod decreeing, That these things which are spoken in relation to* Bishops, *ought to be observed not only by all having Ecclesiastical* Benefices, *as well Secular as Regular, but even by the* Cardinals *of the Church of* Rome *themselves, who being of Council to the* Pope, *for the administration of the affairs of the Universal* Church, *ought above all to excel in those eminent vertues, and regularity of living, which may deservedly turn the Eyes of all upon them: But the reason holding much stronger, that the* Pope *himself who is placed by the most* High *in his House, as a shining light on a Candlestick, should keep the wholsom Constitutions of the* Fathers, *in such manner as to provoke by his Example all other* Prelates *to the observing of them.*

Having seriously considered these things, among the manifold and weighty cares of our Pastoral Charge, which (as far as our frailty permits) we duyly sustain for the Church, *in order to the Salvation of Souls, and the promoting the Works of Piety: We have observed this wholsom discipline, establisht by the* Fathers, *all along from the beginning of our* Popedom, *and with the* Lords *help shall observe it as long as we live. But to declare to our Successors what we think unlawful, we have forever firmly Decreed, to establish the same Discipline in this holy* See, *from which* Bishops *and other* Prelates *of Churches ought to take Examples of Truth; being partly led to it by the present Exigencies and narrowness of the* Pontifical *Treasury, which we do not doubt but is sufficiently known to our Brethren.*

Therefore for the glory of Almighty God, *the honour of this* Apostolical See, *and the good example of* Prelates *and Governors in the*

Church

Church, and also that the Apostolical *Chamber may have no damage. We do for ever Establish and Decree, That it shall not be lawful, neither for Us, nor for any of our Successors,* Popes *of* Rome, *by any manner of pretext or colour, directly, or indirectly, or by any sort of Title of Bounty or Free-Gift, or for Gain and Advantage in whole, or in part, to dispose of Monies, Places of the* Montes, *void or not void, set to Sale, and dispos'd of in consideration of their Price, or any manner of Rights that do any ways belong to the Apostolical See and Chamber, in favour of* Brothers, Nephews, *or others* related *by* Blood *or* Marriage, *or the intimate Acquaintance or Favourites, as well of Our Self, as of every Roman Bishop Our Successor for the time being respectively; and likewise that nothing of this shall be done in favor of those that may be any ways made choice of, and taken into the Family of any Pope in the room of* Nephews, *or other near* Relations.

Moreover We Decree, That it shall not be lawful neither for Us, nor for any of the Popes *of* Rome *Our Successors by Apostolical Grant to enrich* Brothers, Nephews, *and* Relations *by Blood or Marriage, or any that may be received, or chosen in their place, or Favourites aforesaid, with* Churches, Monasteries, *or any other* Benefices *or* Pensions, *of what kind or quality soever; nor with any manner of Ecclesiastical Incomes, Fruits, Revenues, Perquisites, Rights or Profits beyond the merits of any one of them, and the decent maintenance of that Dignity they obtain in the* Church; *that so a due moderation, and the Rules of distributive Justice being in all things observed, there may be no occasion of complaining or cavilling left to any one, but the* Ecclesiastical Revenue *may be distributed to those that labour in the Church of God, according to every ones merit. But if the aforesaid* Brothers, Nephews, *and other* Relations *by Blood or Marriage, or those that are chosen and received in their Place, should fall into want, the* Pope *for the time being, in his tender concern, may relieve their Poverty out of the Revennes of the* See *and Chamber aforesaid, in the same manner as he relieves poor Strangers out of the Goods of the Church, which are God's; but so as the Goods of the See and Chamber may not be bestowed on those, or havock't or imbezel'd for the sake of those. But if (which God forbid) the measure of kindness equally here, and wholsomly prescribed, should be exceeded towards* Brothers Nephews, *and other* Relations *by Blood or Marriage, and Favourites the Bishops of* Rome *successively may and ought, either at the Instance of any one, or by their own proper motion, to take away those things that were unduly obtained from them, and to revoke and annul what is given*

a

or freely granted in the way above-mentioned; and herein must be no place for ill-will or favor, but all things must be reduced to the rule of Apostolical Equity, besides other Punishments, which may be inflicted at the Will of the Pope. And that as little damage as is possible may accrue to the Apostolical Chamber, We do suppress and abolish the Office of General of the Roman Church, and the Stipend or Emolument of the Superintendent of the State of the Church, and also of the Government of the City Beneventum, which was used to be paid by the said Chamber; adhering in this both to the sense of the College of Cardinals our Brethren, in a late Conclave, wherein We, by the Grace of God, were raised to the Popedom; and also by a Secret Decree, made by Us in Our Consistory, the 16th of December, 1676. And do We also Establish and Decree, That other Military Offices, which have been estimated according to the changes of the times, and as we at this present do estimate them, shall not be bestowed with a Salary or Stipend.

And that all things as is aforesaid may for ever remain in their full strength, We will and command, That as all and singular the Cardinals present have promised and sworn, as much as in them lies, to observe this Bull, and never to withstand it, nor to consent to any Pope's acting against it; so likewise that this shall be done by the Cardinals now absent from the Consistory and Court of Rome, whensoever they shall repair to the said Court, and shall be promised and sworn to by all future Cardinals when they receive the Hat; and this Oath shall be added to that which is taken of course by all the Cardinals. And we Decree, That those that do otherwise, shall thereby incur the pain of Perjury, and perpetual Infamy Juris & Facti. Moreover We Decree and Ordain, the Cardinals, in the Vacancy of the Apostolical See, promise by Oath the Observation of the Bull of Pius V. of happy memory, our Predecessor, De non infœdandis, &c. and of Sixtus V. concerning the aforesaid Monies, reposited in the Castle of St. Angelo; and likewise the Constitutions of other Roman Bishops our Predecessors. So every one that shall be Elected Pope, after he is elected to the Papal Dignity, shall promise and swear inviolably to observe this our present Bull, according to the express form and tenor of the aforesaid Bull of Sixtus V. our Predecessor, in the 11th Section.

And We will, that these Our Letters be drawn into a Libel, and added to the aforesaid Decrees of Pius and Sixtus V. &c. for Entry and Publishing, &c.

But

But ſince *Princes* are not able to undergo the Burthen of Government, without Officers and aſſiſtants, and that as theſe are, ſo muſt they expect the events of their Governments: This Pope without any reſpect to his own Relations, choſe ſuch as he thought were Men of Sincerity, and adequate to the Imployments he intruſted them with. In the firſt place he made Cardinal *Cibo* his Secretary of State, being a perſon endued with a great and generous Soul, a clear Underſtanding, Zealous for the welfare of the Church, and dexterous in the management of Publick affairs. The Family of the *Altieri* having before enjoy'd it, he continued in their Military Employments, as he did the other Officers. But ſince they were at Peace with all the World, for eaſe of the Chamber (much indebted) he caus'd the Officers of the Papal Army to ſatisfie themſelves with the honour thereof without pay. Yet intending to do ſuch things that would render himſelf obnoxious to ill Men, he encreas'd his number of Archers; wherein he took all the care he could to have ſuch Men liſted as were diſcreet and ſober, not given to quarrels, or apt to commit Inſolencies, as the *Corſi* had done in Pope *Alexander* VII. time, which gave him great trouble; for upon affronting the *French Kings Embaſſador*, he ſent an Army into *Italy*, which oblig'd that *Pope* to disband them, and erect a Pillar with an Inſcription of their Baniſhment, and for what Cauſe.

In the next place, for due adminiſtration of Juſtice, that Criminals might no longer ſecure themſelves in privileg'd places, which were many and very large, and for long time had been the common ſhelters of Villains and the worſt of Men; he would not allow ſuch places for the future to be Sanctuaries, tho they were the Houſes of *Ambaſſadors* and great Princes in *Rome*; and in purſuance thereof cauſed a famous *Bandito* to be ſeized at *Riccia*, a Seat of the Prince *Chigi*, which was done without any oppoſition, tho afterward the French and this Pope had great conteſts about it.

The *Pope* alſo confirmed the ſeventeen Articles which were ſigned in the *Conclave* of *Cardinals*, a little before the time of the Election, (which other *Popes* in the like caſe have failed to do.) Theſe for the moſt part tended to a Reformation of Manners, and to amendment of thoſe abuſes which were crept into the Church. That himſelf might be a pattern of Temperance and Sobriety, he retrencht the expences of his Houſe, and lived ſo frugally, that his own Table diet exceeded not five ſhillings a meal; he reproved the vanity of the *Cardinals* in their fine Cloaths Liveries and outward Gaities, not becoming the gravity of Men of their Order (contrary to other *Popes* who labour'd to dignifie 'em with honours.)

And becauſe the Corruption of the Church, as it began, ſo continued by ill Men's being in it, who were commonly preferr'd by Friendſhip or Mony, and not for deſerts; he appointed four *Cardinals*, and four other *Clergy-men*, to examine the Lives and Manners of ſuch who aſpired to the Degree of *Biſhops*, ordering them to admit none thereto ſuſpected, or in the leſt blemiſhed with ill Fame, or debauched Converſation, or taxed with Ignorance. And to ſhew his diſlike of ſuch debaucheries, and prevent

Temptations, he drove out of *Rome* the Curtesans and Strumpets, and persons openly Scandalous and Dissolute in their Manners and Behaviour; and in particular banisht a Gentleman of Quality into *Germany*, for endeavouring to ravish a Lady. He put down Gaming-Houses, and forbad all lewd and unlawful Assemblies; wherefore those sort of Men did account this *Popes* reign but a dull time, and were weary of it long before it expir'd. Tho in truth Conversation hath been free and unlimited; for tho at *Rome* there is no Printed News, yet in the Anti-chambers of *Cardinals*, Ambassadors, Princes, and particularly at the Queen of *Swedens*, all the News of *Europe* was usually discours'd (not without animadversions or reflections upon it:) And tho Learning be not much in Vogue there; yet those that would apply themselves to it, might meet with no discouragements, and a general outward Civility (according to the *Italian* way) was practis'd over the City, and strangers kindly receiv'd (being not obnoxious in their Speeches) so that they may live there without any molestation, and discourse freely enough of any thing that is the common subject of Civil Conversation.

And for the rights and properties of the meaner people, in regard the *Barons* of *Rome*, by the priviledge of their *Nobility*, were above the reach of their *Creditors*; the *Pope* ordered *Cardinal Cibo* to take an account of such Creditors as would bring it in, what any of these privileg'd persons owed them, and to pay their dues out of the Chamber; causing such persons to assign the Debts due to them to the Chamber, which could better deal with them by proceedings out of the Exchequer.

Many have accounted him Covetous, and one that made it his buisness to heap up Wealth, and probably there might be more reason to lay that to his charge rather than other vices; and one thing they take notice of is, That he hath not rais'd any publick Structure or Building for the glory of the City, as other *Popes* have done, who advancing their Families at publick expence, if not oppression, were willing to do something of that Nature to stop the Peoples Mouths, or else for vain-glory, and to perpetuate their memories to Posterity. But this *Pope* found the Chamber greatly in debt, by the ill management of affairs before him, and also did not know what occasion he might have to defend his Dominions, if the *Turk* had prevail'd at *Vienna*, or the *French* King should have invaded a people long accustomed to ease and luxury. But he hath parted with great store of Mony to carry on the War against the *Turk*. And one particular Act of generosity, in this first year of his Reign, is observable, *Christina* Queen of *Sweden* having the greatest part of her Revenue from *Sweden* stopt, (through the necessities of the Times) the *Pope* in recompence thereof, for her comfortable livelyhood, allowed her a Pension of 3000 *l. per Annum.*

Having done these things at home, he now looks abroad, and considering the *Turk*, as the Common Enemy of Christendom, he writes Letters to the *Emperor*, the Kings of *France* and *Spain* to be at Peace, offering himself for Mediator, and to assist in it in Person, provided the place appointed

for

the Treaty were some City of the Catholick Religion; and animated the *King* of *Poland*, to continue his War against the *Turk*, for the recovery of *Kaminiec*, and to be reveng'd on the *Vizier Kuperlee* for taking Contribution from the City of *Leopolis*, and remitted to him the Sum of 50000 Crowns to assist him therein.

1677. Whilst the *Pope* labour'd for Peace abroad, the better to repose himself, and advance the Affairs of the Church, which never have thriven in War, unless in some Cases to divert War from *Italy*, the *Popes* have been incendiaries to raise it in others places, and thereby may be said to get advantage; I say, while he labour'd for Peace among others, those very persons whose good he design'd thereby, did make but an ill requital, tho no advantage could accrue to some of them. The first accident that had like to set *Rome* in a Tumult was this, The King of *Spains* Embassador without the *Popes* leave, (pretending the *French* for his Example) knowing his Master wanted Soldiers in *Sicily*, adventured to make some levies of Men at *Rome*: People knowing the hardship his Soldiers used to endure, came in slowly to list themselves, and a rumour was spread, that he had hid Men in Cellars, which getting wind among the Vulgar, glad of a pretence to be tumultuous, and egg'd on by a secret malice they had entertain'd against that Nation; they affronted them in all places, which ended sometimes in scuffles and fightings, so that several were kill'd and some wounded; against such a torrent, there was no resistance to be made by a few Spaniards, but they were forced to retire and keep close. The *Pope* used severity against such as were found guilty of these Riots, tho the Spaniards not thinking that sufficient satisfaction, refused or durst not appear at Court; and the Vice-Roy of *Naples* refused to give Audience to the *Popes* Nuntio there, without any colour or ground. The *Pope* was hereat disturbed, and in pursuing of his Decree for depriving all places and persons of the priviledge of harbouring Outlaws and Criminals; he publish'd an Edict forbidding all Persons to affix the Arms of any *Ambassador*, *Prince*, or *Noble Man* over their Shops, looking upon it as a Mark, or Sign that they had renounced his Protection, and put themselves under the Persons whose Arms they had so affixed; and declared he would Govern at *Rome*, as other Princes did in their Dominions. This his courage and resolution surprized many, who thought it, as indeed it was, no small thing to take away that which had been allow'd by his Predecessors, wherein were so many great Persons concern'd; besides the incensing of those *Desperadoes* who were hereby covered from Justice.

The Circumstances of the *Spaniard* would not admit him to contend, but desires Audience, which the *Pope* denies till his *Nuntio* were heard at *Naples*; which being done, and the *Spaniard* desiring by Letter that his *Ambassador* might have Audience on some emergent Occasion, at the perswasion of *Cardinals Cibo* and *Barbarino* it was at last granted, and the Ambassador departed well satisfy'd with the proceedings of the Court. And this had better issue for *Rome*, than the contest between *Paul* V. and the *Venetians*; for he intending to make all Kingdoms truckle to him,

begins with the States of *Venice*, who he thought would not ſtand upon points of honour, as Crowned Heads might do; but he took wrong meaſures, for neither his Spiritual nor Temporal weapons could bring them to recede from their rights, and ſo with ſhame he deſiſted.

The Conteſts between *Popes* and *Princes* have been the troubles of the Court and City of *Rome*; but tho this *Pope* hath had ſome ſhare in them, yet he hath held his own without War or Bloodſhed. And it was no mean concern to enter the liſts with one that then appear'd, and ever ſince until now, the greateſt Monarch in *Europe*, I mean the *French* King who ſtil'd himſelf *Lewis le Grand.*

The Conteſt was about the *Regalia* wherein I ſhall follow Sir *Paul Rycaut*'s Hiſtory of this matter (who hath for the moſt part extracted it from the now Biſhop of *Sarum*'s tract on that Subject) ſo far as he carries it.

The point of the *Regalia* had been an ancient diſpute for many Ages in *France*, which was in ſome ſort determined in the Year 1431. by the Council of *Baſil*, where it was ordained that Cathedral Churches and others ſhould have a freedom of Elections: This afterwards was confirmed by a general Aſſembly of French Clergy at *Bourges*, and addreſs'd to King *Charles* the Seventh, deſiring him to protect that Council. At that time the Council of *Baſil* ſent to the King an Abſtract of their Decrees, conſiſting of Thirty Seven Articles, by which Decennial Councils, and the Authority of the Councils above the Pope was eſtabliſhed, *&c.* together with an Abſtract of the Decree they had made concerning Elections. All which were conſidered at that Aſſembly at *Bourges*, where the *Dauphin* and the chief Nobility of *France* were preſent, and by their Advice the famous *Pragmatick Sanction* was made in Confirmation of thoſe Articles, which was obſerved during the Reign of *Charles* the Seventh. But *Lewis* the Eleventh eſteeming it the Intereſt of *France* to maintain a good correſpondency with the Pope, was inclinable to wave the advantage of this Sanction. In the beginning of *Charles* VIII. an Aſſembly of States being called at *Tours*, the Third Eſtate petition'd, that the *Pragmatick Sanction* might be again renewed and confirmed; calling thoſe which were preferred by the Court, *Court-Biſhops*; ſo it was again put into force and practice, much to the diſpleaſure of the Pope; notwithſtanding which *Lewis* XII. made a perpetual Edict in confirmation of it: *Francis* I. ſucceeding to the Crown, and having vaſt Deſigns in *Italy*, thought it not his Intereſt to ſtand at a diſtance with the Pope, and therefore was willing to treat with him about the Abolition of the *Pragmatick Sanction* on ſuch terms, as might reconcile his own Prerogative with the Popes Authority. This Deſign occaſion'd an Interview between the King and Pope at *Bologna*, and thence the *Concordat* was produced, which was afterward put into the form of a *Bull*, and confirmed by the Council of *Lateran*: The Sum of which was, *The* King *and the* Pope *agreed to divide the Promotion to all* Prelacies *between them*; *for the* King *was to nominate the Perſon within Six Months after a Vacancy, and the* Pope *was to confirm him, if no lawful exception*

ception did lie againſt him. When the Emperors were low by adverſe Fortune, the Popes forced them to be beholding to them, and not without ſome far-fetch'd Notion would make advantage for themſelves; and ſometimes Emperors and Princes have retaliated the like meaſure to Popes.

Lewis XIV. in the year 1673. being high and Proſperous in his Fortune, reſolved to put a Period to the Proceſs for the *Regale*, which had continued near Thirty years, and made this Declaration:

That the King *had Right of* Regale *in all his Dominions, except only in thoſe Sees that had purchaſed their Exemption from it: And therefore all Biſhops who had not yet Regiſtred their Oaths of Fidelity in the* Chamber *of* Accounts, *were required to do it, and to take out a* Writ *upon it for cloſing the* Regale, *otherwiſe their Biſhopricks were ſtill to be looked upon as under it.*

All the Biſhops of *France*, unwilling to incur the Diſpleaſure of their ſucceſsful *Monarch*, ſubmitted; excepting the Biſhops of *Alet* and *Pamiers.*

It was now under the Reign of *Clement* X, an old doting *Pope*, who committed the management of the *Pontificate* to *Altieri*, a Perſon from his beginning diſtaſtful to the Court of *France.* This was the time for *France* to move the *Pope*, who knew not his own Intereſt; and *Altieri* was not able to contend in ſo litigious a caſe againſt ſo powerful a Prince.

In *January* 1676. The Kings Right was claimed in diſpoſal of the Deanry of *Alet*; the Diſpute was left to the Biſhops to maintain, neither the Pope nor his Cardinals taking cognizance of it. This *Pope* dying in *Auguſt* following, left the Conteſt to our *Innocent* XI. more able to maintain it than his Predeceſſor. Another Caſe alſo happened; one *Pawcet* was provided in right of the *Regale* to be Arch-Deacon of *Pamiers*, but was rejected by the Biſhop and Chapter; howſoever the *Regale* prevailed; for the Archbiſhop of *Tholouſe* gave Judgment in favour of the *Regaliſt*; but on the contrary, the Biſhop of *Pamiers* acquieſced not in this Sentence, but appealed to the *Pope*, who was now engaged in the Controverſie, and the matter lodged in his Hands.

1678. Wherefore the *Pope* writ his Brief to the French King, and in ſoft, and yet preſſing Terms, complained *of the Innovations made on the Liberties of the Church, and the Authority of the Council of* Lions: And after ſeveral Arguments to perſwade him to deſiſt from this Enterprize, he concludes, *He cannot forget thoſe* Popes *his Predeceſſors, whom, upon the like Occaſion, had endured long and great Afflictions.*

But theſe Allegations ſatisfy'd not the King, who pretended, That the Rights of the *Regale* were inherent in the Crown, and had been enjoyed by his Anceſtors, and by them derived down to himſelf. The *Pope* on the other ſide replyed, *That the* Secular Power *had no Right to things Sacred, but as it was derived to them by the Authority of the Church, and that the Church had not granted any ſuch Right, having expreſly limited it by the Council of* Lyons, *which hath now been obſerved* 400 *years.*

This Controverſie ſeemed to lie dormant from *September* 1678. unto *December* 1679. when it was again reviyed in the See of *Pamiers*, in that point

point which concerned the Vacant Benefices, and the mean Profits; for the Kings Officers ſeized on them, ſo that the good old Biſhop had nothing to live on the laſt twenty Months of his Life, but the Oblations and Charity of his People. This occaſioned the Pope to write to Cardinal *D' Eſtree* to interpoſe in this Affair, as being a Perſon more than ordinarily concerned in the Dignity of the Apoſtolical See, to which the Cardinal anſwer'd in the Style of a Court-Biſhop, extolling the Kings Merit, his Zeal for the Faith, and reſpect for the Apoſtolical Chair; what he had done for the ſuppreſſing of *Calviniſts* and Hereſie within his Dominions, and how bravely he had defended the Chriſtian Cauſe againſt the *Turks*; and in fine, he laid down the dangers which would follow, if any Diſſention ſhould ariſe between that King and the Church.

At length Cardinal *D'Eſtree* was diſpatched to *Rome* with a Letter of Credence, and Orders to treat immediately with the *Pope* himſelf; but it ſeems his Negotiation produced little Alteration; for the Pope continued ſteady and conſtant to his Principles: And on the other ſide, the Parliament of *Paris* became as zealous for the Kings Right and Authority, for which the Kings Attorney General pleading, made little eſteem of the Popes Cenſures in reſpect of the Kings Orders.

The Church (ſaid he) *may indeed have an Authority to puniſh Men for Hereſie and an ill Life; but the World was now too well enlightned, not to diſcern, that the Thunders of* Rome *had been for ſeveeal Ages vainly employed, for extending its Authority beyond all due Bounds, the Limits whereof were to be found in the Canons of the Church, by which the Pope, as well as others, ought to govern himſelf.* And therefore deſiredthat the laſt *Brief* ſent by the Pope might be ſuppreſſed, which was accordingly done by a Judgment of the Court of Parliament on the laſt of *March*, 1681.

And to give a farther Authority to this Judgment, an extraordinary Aſſembly was called of all the *Biſhops* then reſiding at *Paris*, where were preſent Six Archbiſhops, Twenty Six Biſhops, and Six that were named to Biſhopricks, to whom the Agents of the Clergy repreſented the Invaſions made on the Liberties of the Gallican Church by the *Popes* Briefs, both in general, concerning the *Regale*; and in particular, in the Affair at *Pamiers*, and the *Nunneries*, and concerning a Book of *Gerbais*, a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, *De Cauſis Majoribus*, which were equally contrary both to Church and State, to the Canons, and the Concordate, by which the *Pope*, upon a ſimple Complaint, without any Appeal, did by the plenitude of his Power judge at *Rome* concerning the validity of Elections, and the Authority of *Arch-Biſhops* and *Primates*, &c. The iſſue of this Aſſembly was, They aſſerted the Authority of National Churches, for judging all matters both of Faith and Manners; and in the concluſion agreed to make an Addreſs to the King, praying him to give leave either for a National Counſel, or an Aſſembly General, the later of which was conſented unto by his Majeſty, and ſummoned to meet the firſt of *October* following; which met accordingly, and at the opening thereof, the Biſhop of *Meaux* preached a moſt eloquent Sermon with much Applauſe; after which, the point

of

of the *Regale* was put to the Queſtion, and argued learnedly on both ſides, and in concluſion, the greateſt part were of opinion, that the Rights unto the *Regale* were inherent in the Crown, and that the pretenſions thereunto were Uſurpations by the Church, as appears by this following Declaration.

The Declaration of the Clergy of the Gallican Church concerning Eccleſiaſtical Power.

WE *the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, Repreſentatives of the* Gallican Church, *being by Command of His Majeſty Aſſembled at* Paris, *together with others of the Clergy, in the ſame manner delegated with us, after long Debate, and mature Conſideration, have thought fit to declare and determine theſe ſeveral particulars following.*

I. *That a Power is given by* God *to* St. Peter, *and his Succeſſors, who are the Vicars of* Chriſt, *and to the Church to Order and Regulate all Spiritual Matters, but not to intermeddle in Civil or Temporal matters, according to that Saying of our Lord,* My Kingdom is not of this World. *And again,* Give unto *Cæſar* the things which are *Cæſars*, and unto God the things that are Gods. *And Agreeable hereunto is that of the Apoſtle,* Let every Soul be Subject to the Higher Powers, for there is no Power but of God; the Powers which are, are ordained of God; and whoſoever reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God. *Wherefore Kings and Princes by the Law of God are not liable in temporal matters to the Eccleſiaſtical Power, nor by the Power of the Keys can they be depoſed, either directly or indirectly; or can their Subjects be abſolved from their Fealty and Obedience to them, or from their Oaths of Allegiance, the which We confirm and determine, as Principles not only neceſſary for conſervation of the Publick Peace and Tranquility, but for the better Government of the Church, and as Truths agreeable to the Word of God, the Tradition of the Fathers, and to the Example and Practice of Saints and Holy Men.*

II. *That the Apoſtolical* See, *and the Succeſſors of St.* Peter, *who are the Vicars of Chriſt, have a full and plenary Power, in all Spiritual matters, in ſuch manner as is given to them by the Oecumenical Synod of* Conſtance, *which is received by the Apoſtolical* See, *and in ſuch manner as hath been confirmed by the conſtant uſe and practice of the Popes of* Rome, *and the whole Church, and obſerved by the Religion of the Gallican Church, and Decreed by the Authority of the* General

General Councils, *in the Fourth and Fifth Sessions: And the* Gallican Church *doth condemn the Opinion of those, who esteemed those Decrees of doubtful Authority, and do endeavour to restrain their Obligations only to a certain time of Schism, and to invalidate the present Power thereof.*

III. *Hence it is that the third exercise of the Apostolical Power is to be regulated by Canons established by the Spirit of God, and thereunto all the World is to bear Respect and Reverence; likewise the Rules, Manners, and Institutions received by the Kingdom, and Church of* France, *as also the Customs of our Fore-fathers are to remain unalterable; the which is a clear Demonstratian of the greatness of the Apostolical* See, *that the Statutes and Ordinances thereof are established and confirmed by and with the consent of the* Churches.

IV. *In Questions of Faith the Pope is chief Judge, and his Decrees extend themselves to the* Churches *in general, and to every one in particular; nor can his Judgment be repealed, unless by the consent and determination of the* Universal Church.

V. *These Particulars received from the Doctrin of our Fore-fathers, we have by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, Decreed to send unto all the* Gallican Churches, *and the Bishops residing over them; and we do all concur in the same Sense and Meaning of them.*

Subscribed by Archbishops and Bishops and Clergy, as before related, and Registred as required by the Kings Attorney General, *March* 23. 168½.

The French King used all means to gain this point of the *Pope*; and thinking that the very bruit of any part of his Army marching into *Italy*, might have a considerable Influence, he sent a Protestant General, Marshal *Schomberg*, with an Army into *Italy*, and the Fourth of *October*, 1681. he entred *Cazal*. The pretence was, That the French King had bought that place of one of the Duke of *Mantua*'s Ministers for three Millions, which the Duke disown'd, as done without his privity, and would not receive the Mony; and the *Pope* and all *Italy* by fortifying this place, and several other apparent Designs of the French King, were frequently Alarm'd, so that in 1687. his Holiness durst not send his Gallies to assist the *Venetians*, but was put to the charge of raising Forces for his Security.

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The King cauſed the Declaration of the Clergy, and his Edict for confirming it to be regiſtred both in the Chamber of Accounts in *France*, and in the *Sorbonne*, without the Doctors Aſſent, who ſhew'd their reſentment of it; and therefore the Parliament of *Paris* ſummoned twelve of the Doctors before them, and gave them a ſharp Reprimand; and in *June*, 1682. the King commanded ſeveral of the Doctors of the *Sorbonne* to leave the Society, and repair to certain places diſtant which he appointed: He alſo ſent ſeveral of the Clergy to the *Baſtile*, who had ſpoke or wrote freely on this occaſion.

The *Pope* was not idle in the mean time. In *January* 1681. he did by ſeveral Briefs require the Jeſuits to expel Father *Maimburg*, a French Jeſuit, out of their Society, for having wrote a Book offenſive to his Holineſs, but the King took him into his protection. In *April* 1682. He ſent a Decree to the *Carmelites* at *Paris* to ſuſpend one of their Members for publiſhing certain *Theſes* Offenſive to the Court of *Rome*, which they performed; but the Parliament of *Paris* commanded the Prior to take off the Suſpenſion, and forbad all the Religious Orders to execute any Mandates, Letters, orOrders which did not concern the internal Ordinary Diſcipline of their Convents. The Aſſembly at *Paris* wrote to the Pope the third of *February* 1682. in unpleaſing Terms touching the *Regalia*. And the Pope by his Brief of *April* the *6th.* 1682. directed to his Venerable Brethren, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *&c.* aſſembled at *Paris*, check'd them for their Letter, and argued his Cauſe in anſwer to theirs, and reproved them for departing from their Rights; and laſtly, reſcinded and annull'd what had been done in their Aſſembly in the Affair of the *Regale*; and withal excommunicated the Archbiſhop of *Tholouſe*.

The Clergy of *France* before this Brief was made publick to them, *May* the *6th.* made their Proteſtation againſt ſeveral Letters that the Pope had wrote into *France* to the Biſhop of *Pamiers*, *&c.* and againſt all Acts done thereupon; and were conſidering of ordaining, that no Appeals ſhould be made to *Rome*, and of ſetting up a Patriarch of their own.

Hereupon the *Pope* ſent a Bull of Excommunication of the Deputies of the Clergy of *France*, to be publiſhed in their Aſſembly; which the King having notice of, ſtopt their meeting, and a little after commanded them to repair to their ſeveral Charges; and on the Doctors of the *Sorbonne*'s Petition to the Parliament, they are reſtor'd, and order'd to give their Opinion on the Propoſitions of the Clergy, wherein they ſpent much time, even to *May* 1683. and ſtill continued divided in their Opinions.

Cardinal *D'Eſtree* had ſpent his time in vain at *Rome*, prevailing nothing upon the Pope. In the Aſſembly, before they ſeparated, the Archbiſhop of *Paris* offered ſeveral Propoſals to accommodate the matter between the Pope and his Eldeſt Son, which with many other things were debated upon.

1. That thoſe to whom the King in right of his *Regalia* ſhall give any Eccleſtical Benifices, ſhall in the Vacancy of the *Sees* have Approbation and Miſſion from the Vicars General.